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HASEKURA LEAGUE INTERCULTURAL STUDIES EDITIONS
n. 1

HOW TO LEARN?
学びの作法
NIPPON/JAPAN AS OBJECT, NIPPON/JAPAN AS METHOD
対象としてニッポン、方法としてニッポン

Acts of the 1st Symposium of the Hasekura League University of Florence
Palazzo Marucelli-Fenzi,
29-30 October 2015

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INTERNATIONAL

www.mimesisinternational.com
e-mail: info@mimesisinternational.com

Isbn: 9788869770524
Book series: *Hasekura League Intercultural Studies Editions*, n. 1

P.I. C.F. 02419370305

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IDENTITY AND IDENTITIES THROUGH LANGUAGE AND HISTORY

We are proud to present this book as the inaugural volume in a new Japanese Studies series. It is a collection of the papers presented at the International Symposium "How to Learn: Nippon/Japan as Object, Nippon/Japan as Method," held on 29-30 October 2015 at the University of Florence. While offering a breathtaking array of scholarship on Japan and its connections with the world, the symposium also marked the formation of the Hasekura League for Japanese Studies. Reflecting the diversity of the League's membership and its goals, the works contained herein represent scholarship from a variety of disciplines and specialities united by a common concern with Japan and its place in global studies.

We envision this series as a forum to offer the latest and best research and scholarship on Japanese Studies from the Hasekura League and its affiliates. The League is at an exciting point in its development, with a series of meetings scheduled in 2017 and preparations underway for future publications in this series. Moving forward in pursuit of its goals of promoting integrated and interdisciplinary collaboration in pursuit of a new direction in Japanese Studies, we hope that the Hasekura League will become a leading force in international scholarship.

September, 2016

The Editors

Luigi Dei
Rector of University of Florence

GREETING ADDRESS

Good morning, everybody. I am very happy to welcome all the participants to the International Symposium "How to learn Nippon/Japan as object, Nippon/Japan as method" on behalf of the Rector of the University of Florence, Professor Alberto Tesi. I am twice glad because I would like to give my personal greeting to all of you as the elected Rector who will start his 6-year government next Monday, and I want to thank friend and colleague Rolando Minuti for having invited me to be here this morning. Looking at the programme of your Symposium, I was impressed by the extent of the treated themes that cover so many aspects of topics dealing with history, philosophy, intercultural studies, aesthetics and visual arts, political thought, and literature. I am particularly sensitive to all the subjects that remind me of Japan, since my sister-in-law, Mrs. Chisato Tanaka, is from Japan. Every time we meet – she married my brother in 2001 – I continuously ask her about Japan, since her presence in our family stimulated my curiosity towards this fascinating country and its world. We often discuss the different costumes and habits, history, concept of time, and culture, together with some minor things as food, humour, photographs and so on. Unfortunately I have never visited Japan and I would like to do so. Maybe during the next six years it could happen – perhaps a visit to Tohoku University. I believe that Italy and Japan are closer than one normally thinks. Both peoples are curious about each other and in some way fascinated by the two cultures, which appear so

distant until one starts to penetrate the folds of the two wonderful worlds. I believe that after this Symposium you will go back with a satisfied curiosity and with an enhanced vision of Nippon/Japan as object and as method. With more than thirty contributions by scholars coming from Tohoku University and from renowned universities in Italy and Europe, it is guaranteed that the quality of the Symposium will be top level and that all the participants will gain a wide frame of knowledge and an overview of the most advanced research and studies on this subject. Let me conclude by looking towards my next adventure as rector of the University of Florence and quoting a sentence that I found on the web as a Japanese saying. I am not sure, of course, about the veracity of the attribution of the adage to Japanese tradition and therefore I beg your pardon if the saying is really not from Japan. But the sense is truly appropriate for me in this moment and I would like to share it with you. "Even a journey of a thousand miles starts with a step." This can be fitting for my new engagement, but if you meditate a little bit, even for every human challenge. Your symposium-journey is going to start. I made the first step with these opening remarks, now I want to give you my best wishes for a successful meeting and also for enjoying our city. Thank you very much for your attention.

Toshiya Ueki 植木俊哉
Executive Vice President of Tohoku University

OPENING REMARKS

It is indeed my great honor and privilege to make a brief remark on behalf of Tohoku University on the occasion of this wonderful and unique international symposium on "Nippon (or Japan) as Object, Nippon (or Japan) as Method".

First of all, on behalf of Tohoku University, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the University of Florence and to all the members of the University who have kindly accepted the idea of this symposium and provided this wonderful venue. In particular, I want to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Minuti and Professor Sagiyama, who worked so hard to secure as our venue this splendid historical Palazzo Marucelli-Fenzi, a building dating from the sixteenth century and so beautifully decorated with sculptures and paintings, and who put so much effort into the realization of this conference.

I would also like to offer my sincerest appreciation to all the Professors, scholars, and experts from our partner universities all over Europe, who were kind enough to travel here to join this conference.

Currently, in my role as Executive Vice President for international affairs and general affairs of Tohoku University, I have been travelling extensively all over the world, negotiating international academic agreements with our overseas partners, attending international conferences held by international consortia of universities, and engaging in similar activities.

These efforts are part of the official duties of my University management position. I am, however, originally a Professor of International Law – to be precise, Professor of Public International Law in the Faculty of Law, Tohoku University – and this is my academic background.

As a specialist in international law, Europe, especially Italy, has a very special place for me and other international law researchers. There might exist various opinions on this point, but I would say that the notion of "*ius gentium*" in Roman imperial law, was the authentic origin of the contemporary notion of "international law". However, even now in the 21st century we have to examine contemporary circumstances and ask ourselves what kind of "law" actually exists – or is even possible – when we see many tragedies of the sort occurring in Syria or associated with the vast numbers of refugees in the Mediterranean and southern part of Europe, very close to us here in Florence and other parts of Italian soil and the Italian territorial sea.

It need not be restated here at this symposium that Florence was the birthplace of the new humanism during the Renaissance in the fifteenth century. The University of Florence and Tohoku University have joined hands to hold an international symposium on Japanese Studies based on the study of humanity and to establish a place where past traditions and the future of culture can converse.

In order to overcome the contemporary crisis of civilization, we must lose neither our respect for the various cultures of the world nor our empathy towards other people. The urgent challenge of "reclaiming our humanity" is not only a task for politics, economics, or scientific technology. It is also a mission for Japanese Studies. In the belief that we can, in however minor a way, contribute to the present task by joining hands, a number of European Universities and Tohoku University have started the "Hasekura League" as a new Japanese Studies network. I feel that this organization is of profound significance. To everyone from the partner universities, above all else I would like to express my warmest thanks for your understanding of and support for our goals.

The namesake of the Hasekura League, Hasekura Tsunenaga (支倉常長, 1571-1622), was a samurai retainer in the early 17th century of the Date domain, in whose castle town of Sendai Tohoku University is located. Under the orders of the domain lord, Date Masamune (伊達政宗, 1567-1636), Hasekura set sail

from a small port near from Sendai in October 1613 for Europe, aiming in particular for Spain and Rome. He crossed the Pacific Ocean and arrived at Acapulco in Mexico on the other side, travelling within Mexico from the west to the east coast and sailing again from Mexico to Spain across the Atlantic Ocean. He arrived at Spain and stayed in Seville and Madrid. During his stay in Spain, he was baptized in Madrid and became a Christian. Finally, Hasekura entered Italy and arrived in Rome to meet with Pope Paulus V, on November 3rd, 1615. Today is October 29th, 2015, so this meeting occurred in fact 400 hundred years ago on this very Italian soil. Hasekura's visit, and his being awarded a certificate of Roman Citizenship which made him the first Japanese citizen of Rome, have become famous stories in Japan, especially in Sendai. The certificate of Citizenship that Hasekura received from the City of Rome four hundred years ago is now officially recognized as a "National Treasure"(*kokuhō*, 国宝) of Japan, and the original document has been preserved in the Sendai City Museum, located at the site of the old Sendai Castle next to the Tohoku University campus.

Despite many difficulties, Hasekura returned from Rome to Sendai via the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, but when he returned to Japan in 1620, the Japanese government of the Shōgun at that time had adopted a policy of strict prohibition and severe suppression of Christianity. This meant that Hasekura's great achievement, namely the first diplomatic mission from Japan to Europe – precisely speaking from Tohoku region to Europe – was not appreciated in Japan at that time. However, it is a historical truth that Hasekura was an important pioneer for cultural exchange between Europe and Japan 400 years ago.

Four centuries ago in Europe, because of the elegant costumes and noble attitude of Hasekura Tsunenaga and the other samurai in Spain and Italy, the mission made a distinct impression on the people in Europe at that time, and his reputation became widely known across the continent. To establish the "Hasekura League," named after this historical figure, our strongest wishes are to build Japanese Studies as a new field of the Humanities, to learn actively from everyone and engage in discussion, and to

work together to cultivate the development of human resources capable of responding to the pressing problems enveloping mankind in contemporary global society.

Last year in Japan, thirteen leading universities were selected as "Super Global Universities" by the Ministry of Education to promote the commitment of Japanese Universities to global academic development. Tohoku University was selected as one of these "Super Global Universities." Starting in the field of spintronics, a total of seven international jointly supervised graduate programs have been started or are preparing to launch at Tohoku University. Now we are very excited to prepare to initiate this Japanese Studies programme based upon "Hasekura League" as the eighth international jointly supervised graduate program, planned for 2018.

With this symposium in Firenze as a foothold, we sincerely hope for a blossoming of international academic exchange with the leading partner universities in Europe.

Last but not least, I would like to express my great appreciation to the two key figures in this symposium on the Japanese side, namely Professor Hiroo Satō, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Letters in Tohoku University, and Mr.Yoshikazu Satō, the Head of the Faculty office department. Without their tireless efforts, this symposium could never have been realized.

Thank you very much for your kind attention, and I sincerely hope and strongly believe that this symposium will be a very fruitful one for all of you.

Hiroo Satō 佐藤弘夫
Tohoku University

KEYNOTE LECTURE

The Birth of Ghosts
In Search of a new Perspective of Japanese Culture

Tales of the supernatural emerge en masse

I'm sure we will all agree that ghosts are one of the most interesting subjects in Japanese thought and culture, and one that has always drawn interest from abroad. Ghosts were ideal subject matter for *rakugo* (落語), *kabuki* (歌舞伎) and *ukiyo-e* (浮世絵). In the Edo period (from the beginning of the 17th century to the second half of the 19th century) Oiwa (お岩) from the story '*Tōkaidōyotsuyakaidan*' (東海道四谷怪談) or Okiku (お菊) from '*Sarayashiki*' (皿屋敷) were names known to all as superstars of the world of *kaidan* (怪談), tales of the supernatural. Tales of the supernatural involving ghosts were put on stage day in and day out, and huge numbers of *ukiyo-e* depicting vivid and grisly scenes of vengeance circulated with great popularity. Horror manga such as '*Gakkō no kaidan*' (学校の怪談School Horror Tales) and Japanese horror movies are the modern successors to this lineage.

In addition to considering the remarkable popularity the ghosts theme has enjoyed, another interesting perspective presents itself, which involves approaching the possibilities of a cross-border comparison of ghost-related culture. Human beings are faced with the certainty of their own deaths. Therefore, the question of how to approach that death has been one of mankind's common and perennial concerns. From the time that large numbers of people first came to believe with certainty in the world of post-mortem existence, people have hoped for a peaceful afterlife as an extension of their happiness in this world. On the other

hand, the notion of the dead suffering in a painful afterlife also became more distinct and more commonplace. Because death is a universal phenomenon, the problem of the unhappy dead and ghosts became an issue all over the world, across geographical and temporal boundaries.

So with ghosts being, then, an important focus for scholarship, I would like to offer a perspective on the topic here at today's seminar. The question I will be addressing is that of why ghosts and ghost-related culture came to be so popular in the Edo period.

It goes without saying that fearful tales of the dead have been told in all periods and places. On the Japanese archipelago, however, the majority of these tales have their origins in the early modern period or later. Why is it that ghost stories and tales of the supernatural had their heyday in the early modern and modern periods, in which society was undergoing a process of secularization, rather than in the ancient and medieval periods in which religion wielded overwhelming influence?

I will consider this question through a comparison with the medieval period, taking account of the changes that occurred relating to tombs and funerary practices. In searching for the cause of the large-scale outbreak of ghosts in the early modern period, I am also setting out to highlight the shift between the medieval and early modern periods – a shift that radically transformed Japanese concepts of life and death.

Do Japanese people take special care of bones?

In present day Japan, when someone dies, a funeral is carried out by the family of the deceased. The body is cremated around the time of the funeral. After the ceremony the bone fragments taken from the ashes are laid to rest in the cemetery in which the bones of the family's ancestors lie.

The connection between the deceased and the family is not broken off even after the bones are enshrined in the family tomb. On the spring and autumn equinox days called "*higan*" (彼岸which means "the other shore", implying the attainment

of nirvana and the world of the Buddhas) and the first day of summer, Obon (お盆), the family of the deceased visit the grave of their ancestors, pay their respects, and pray for the peaceful repose of the departed. In modern-day Japan this "*ohaka-mairi*" (お墓参り) ritual of visiting graves marking the turn of the seasons remains an important event. The gravestones bearing the names of the deceased act as a sign that those who visit the grave may surely come into contact with the departed.

Deep interchange with ancestors mediated by the tomb is often imagined to have been a Japanese tradition from time immemorial. Furthermore, the concept of taking special care of the cremated bones of the deceased, which is part of the background of this custom, has been explained as something peculiar to Japan. However, these were by no means customs that were practiced universally throughout the Japanese archipelago.

In the time known as the "ancient" period, which lasted until the 11th century, the construction of tombs was not practiced by anyone except for an extremely limited group including the imperial family, the aristocracy, and high-ranking monks. The bodies of commoners were taken to designated cemetery areas where, after a simple funerary ritual, they were left as they lay to be picked at by dogs and crows. Although burial in graves and the construction of rounded earthen burial mounds was practiced among the wealthy, there was no custom of regular visits to grave sites as exists today. In those days, with the passage of time it would gradually become uncertain and then impossible to know to whom a grave belonged. Concerns relating to the body or bones of the deceased for the most part disappeared soon after the point of death.

A new funerary ritual came to be practiced in the period generally known as the middle ages, which began in the 12th century. This was the religious practice of laying post-cremation bones to rest in the holy ground of sacred places known as "*reijo*" (霊場). It came to be established practice that when someone died, a relation or close associate would place the cremated bones in a bag and hang it around their neck, then take the bones to a certain sacred place and place them there with

due solemnity. The ritual depositing of the bones of deceased persons in sacred places began on Mount Kōya (高野山) and Mount Hiei (比叡山), and before long had spread to all parts of the country. Though there is little there now to remind us of that time, Gankōji Gokurakubō (元興寺極楽坊) in Nara was once a temple where the bones of many were deposited. In the middle ages, its hall was filled to the last inch with small containers, each holding the bones of a deceased person.

In this practice of depositing bones in holy places we can see a concern for bodily remains on the part of those connected with the deceased which continues even after the point of death. The act of carrying the bones of the deceased to a sacred place stands in marked contrast to the days before this practice began, when people took little notice of dead bodies or human remains. We can surely surmise that there must, in some sense, have been a discovery of some form of religious significance in post-cremation bones. However, even in this case the bones of the dead are only the focus of particular attention up to the point at which they are deposited in the sacred place: after that there was no further concern regarding their whereabouts.

The next great change in Japanese attitudes toward dead bodies and human remains occurred between the 16th and 17th centuries. It was during this time that the period of Japanese history called the "early modern" began. The early modern period saw the general establishment of the concept and system of a "household and lineage" (*ie*イエ) passed on in perpetuity from one generation to the next for the first time, including among the common people. With this development came the popularization of the practice of keeping a family burial plot. This is the point at which the "family tomb", which has been a constant until the present day, first appears. With the dead now being buried in family plots, the custom of their descendants visiting their tomb at regular intervals was established. The sense, still felt by modern-day Japanese, that one's ancestors are at rest in the tomb in which their cremated bones lie, and that one may meet with the dead at any time by visiting the tomb, gradually came to take root in society. Put differently, this was nothing other

than the awakening of a sense that after death one would be able to continue watching over the lives of one's nearest and dearest from within a tomb.

The people of the ancient period who paid so little attention to human remains, leaving them exposed without a second thought… the people of the middle ages who carried cremated bones to the holy ground of sacred places…the people of the early modern period onward who built family tombs to enshrine the bones of the dead, and made their regular visits there time after time-these are the great changes that have occurred in the attitude of the people of the Japanese islands toward the dead. It is extremely hard to find some common theme or shared concept among those three stages. That fact points to the need to thoroughly reexamine the commonly received view, generally summarized in terms of "the Japanese understanding of life and death".

The popular account of the Japanese as a people who take particular care of the bones of the dead does not hold true of ancient Japan, in which it was a matter of course to leave human remains exposed to the elements. There is a need to unearth in detail the real facts relating to the changes in attitudes to the dead, which took place on the Japanese archipelago, leaving aside any preconceived notion of a view of life and death peculiar to the Japanese race which has penetrated through to our own period.

Changing understandings of the soul

So, what changes in the Japanese view of life and death can we read into the changes in attitudes toward the bodies of the dead that we have looked at thus far?

Let's consider the case of the people of the ancient period, who had no custom of keeping cemeteries. A perception of human beings as made of the two essential elements of body and spirit can be found throughout the historical materials of the time. The concept of man as consisting of body and spirit may indeed be found throughout the world in many places and periods. In ancient Japan, also, the spirit was thought to dwell

within the body, and a state in which its return to the body had become impossible meant the death of that person.

Once death was confirmed, the next and most important issue was that of how to ensure the peaceful repose of the soul. The body and bones were like a cast-off skin left behind by the soul, and were thus no more than a "thing". It seems that as part of the cultural background to the disposal of the bodies of the deceased typical of the ancient period-in charnel grounds without any reflection or further thought on the matter-there was the fact that a corpse was considered a mere "thing". Furthermore, that the Buddhism of the ancient period did not even touch on the treatment of the bodies of the dead and focused exclusively on the bringing the soul to a state of enlightenment might be attributed to the general attitude of disinterest toward human remains prevalent at the time.

From the 12th century onward sacred places of pilgrimage were established, along with the practice of depositing in those places the post-cremation bones of the dead. This stood in marked contrast to the practice of treating a corpse left behind by the spirit as a mere thing, which had hitherto typified funerary customs. The progression from ancient social structures to the medieval funerary structures I have mentioned which took place in the 12th century marks the period out as a time of great fluctuations in thought and worldview. Alongside the full-scale reception of Buddhism in earnest throughout Japanese society and the spread of the Pure Land faith in the latter half of the 10th century, the concept of the far off world of "*higan*" (彼岸), the other shore, the land of enlightenment, distant and separate from "*shido*" (此土), or "this world" expanded in influence. By the 12th century the concept of a Pure Land as another world separate and distinct from this one, in which one might attain rebirth after death, had taken root. In contrast to the monistic worldview typical of the ancient period, we see the dual-layered worldview comprising this world and the other world formed in the middle ages. For many people, achieving rebirth after death in one of the Pure Lands, Amitabha's Pure Land of Sukhavati being the main example of the Pure Land ideal, became the ultimate aim in life.

Accompanying this change in worldview, holy figures of outstanding sanctity such as Shōtoku Taishi (聖徳太子) and Kōbō Daishi (弘法大師), worshipped in the inner sanctuaries of temples, came to be identified as incarnations of Buddhas from the other shore, beings who led people to the Pure Land. The holy places which were their abodes were Pure Lands in this world and at the same time entranceways to a far off Pure Land. It was taught that by travelling there and offering prayer, rebirth in the Pure Land of the other shore became possible. The notion that the promise of salvation for the deceased was held by the placing of their bones in holy places surely developed as an extension of this way of thinking. There also lies the reason for the depositing of the cremated bones of the deceased around the inner sanctuary of Mount Kōya, in which Kōbō Daishi was believed to be present-alive and in meditation.

It would seem to be a necessary precondition for people to carry bones to a sacred place with such great care and effort that there was some common sense of the spirit residing with the bones at least until the arrival at the sacred place. From this point on, we may infer from popular Japanese funerary practices the presence of a new concept: that of the spirit continuing to reside within the bones for a certain period of time after death. Whether in a state of life or death, in contrast to the ancient period in which the spirit would leave the body with relative ease, the connection between bones and spirit in the middle ages was a more secure and more permanent one. However, once the soul had achieved rebirth in the far off otherworldly Pure Land, the bones were no longer the physical host (*yorishiro*依り代) of the spirit, they were no more than a mortal coil, now cast off. We may surmise that this way of understanding the role of bones deposited in holy places is part of the reason why those bones were not the object of continuing memorial services.

The middle ages was a time in which it was thought to be the ideal that the dead left this world and travelled to the far away otherworldly Pure Land. Dead dwelling in this world and dead inhabiting tombs were considered unhappy beings whose salvation had not been realized.

The living make a contract with the dead

This, then, would seem to be the process by which the transition from the cemeteries of the medieval period, which were thought no proper places for the dead to actually dwell in, to the early modern cemeteries, where the dead would await the visits of their relations, occurred.

The medieval worldview which saw this world as a temporary lodging in which to dwell before arriving in the far otherworldly Pure Land began to show signs of transition and change from the 14th century. From this point onward, the sense of reality attributed to the world of the other shore rapidly faded, and the priorities in people's concerns and religious values shifted in emphasis from the other world to this one.

We can understand this in terms of a decline, a shrinking of the world of the other shore and a commensurate expansion in the significance of this world. A process of the secularization of society began which continued from the early modern through to the modern period. More so now than the path of salvation in a world to come, people came to choose the path of giving priority to the experience of a full and happy life in this world.

This transition in worldview exerted, naturally, a decisive influence on the views of death and salvation held by the people of that era of change. With the fading of the notion of the other world well underway, the land to which the dead must depart was now no longer the far off Pure Land, separate and distinct from this world. After death, people would continue to abide in this world. The achievement of Buddhist enlightenment, or "becoming a Buddha" (成仏), was no longer a journey to the otherworld so far away. What it entailed now was eternal rest, in peace, here in this world. The hosts (*yorishiro*) for those souls dwelling in this world were the cremated bones of the deceased and the gravestone or grave marker. Souls of the deceased, whoever they might be, do not abandon the tomb in which their mortal remains are laid to rest; and for the most part, they are thought to dwell there in perpetuity. The modern day common concept of "sleeping in the shade of grass and leaves" (that is,

in the grave) was formed via the following process of change which took place from the Edo period (which began in the 17th century) onward.

The 17th century was from the very outset a period during which the concept of a household and lineage, "*ie*", continuing across generations would spread even among the common people. That we ourselves are here now due to the efforts of our ancestors, and that we must perform the appropriate memorial ceremonies for those successive generations of ancestors, came to be notions common throughout Japanese society. This was a period in which the establishment of family cemetery plots became firmly rooted in Japanese culture. As the numbers of family plots increased rapidly from the beginning of the Edo period, so too did the numbers of dead who were thought to dwell in the cemeteries awaiting visits from their descendants.

Though we may have fond memories of a deceased loved one as they were when they were alive, no matter how close the person; to the living, the dead are an ominous presence. Were the dead person a stranger to us, then the unpleasantness of the encounter would be so much the greater. We cannot help but imagine that dead person to be roaming the world in some preternatural and terrifying manner. During the middle ages, when the dead were generally thought not to dwell in this world, such anxieties can hardly have been so grave. However, when the Edo period began and the deceased came to be conceived of as abiding in their tomb permanently, and with the concomitant explosive increase in their numbers year after year, the question of how to resolve that sense of anxiety regarding the dead began to be an important one.

Thus, the people of the early modern period formed contracts with the dead. One such contract was that cemeteries would be established within temple precincts, where the dead might hear the pleasing sound of the sutras being read aloud. In fulfillment of this contract, a large number of new temples were built in urban areas during the 17th century. In contrast to temple precincts in the middle age and earlier which contained no cemetery areas, from this point on, a main hall designed and built alongside a

cemetery would be the distinctive feature of the early modern temple. The close association of temples and cemeteries in Japan began at this time.

Another contract formed stated that close family would endeavor to make regular visits to the tomb so that the dead would not feel lonely or forlorn. Then, there was the annual Obon period, during which the dead were invited to the family house and warmly entertained. At Obon, fires were lit to welcome the spirits of the ancestors, and family Buddhist altars were provided for the spirits to reside in. This regular contact between the living and the dead came to be established as a popular ritual among the Japanese.

In return for the fulfillment of these promises, the dead were made to promise to remain quietly in their cemeteries. The domains of the living and of the dead were strictly set apart; and ordinarily at least, neither party would infringe on the territory of the other.

The dead seeking vengeance

However, despite the fact that the aforementioned contracts had been made, during the early modern period there was constant evidence of their nonfulfillment on the part of the living in the form of such acts as the abandonment of corpses, neglect of memorial services and cold-blooded murder. For this reason, enormous numbers of the dead, absorbed by bitterness and resentment, transgressed natural order and crossed over into the world of the living.

The famous ghosts Oiwa from the '*Tōkaidōyotsuyakaidan*' and Okiku from '*Sarayashiki*' that I mentioned at the beginning of this talk were both women who died through the cruel treatment of those who remained in the world of the living. Though they were not responsible for any wrongdoing whatsoever, they lost their lives and their bodies were left uncared for and without decent burial. No memorial service was held for them. Before long these women, now ghosts, set out to exact a terrible revenge

on those who persecuted them, and did not stop until they had haunted their former oppressors to their deaths. Interestingly, the well-known male ghost "Kohada Koheiji" (小幡小平次) was also a murder victim. In that somewhat unusual case, the ghost is that of a man killed by his wife and mistress.

I would like to introduce one Edo period ghost story in a little more detail. This is the tale of the wife of Abe Sōbyōe (安部宗兵衛), which is included in the '*Shokoku hyaku monogatari*' (諸国百物語) collection.

Sōbyōe treated his wife cruelly, and did not even provide her with enough food to eat. The wife fell ill, and died due to lack of medicine at the tender age of nineteen. At the point of death, she declared "the bitterness I feel now I shall never forget". Failing to take sufficient heed of this warning, Sōbyōe abandoned his wife's corpse in the mountains without any hint of mourning. He immediately forgot his wife and began living with his mistress.

It was the seventh day after the death of his wife. Sōbyōe was sleeping with his mistress when the ghost of his wife appeared in a terrifying form and tore the mistress to pieces. Having done so, it said: "tomorrow night I shall return and have my revenge" and vanished.

Sōbyōe was overcome with terror and called in a Buddhist monk to perform incantations. The next day he even made ready with a bow and gun. However, none of these were of any use whatsoever against the ghost. When the ghost of his wife returned it tore Sōbyōe in half, and kicked to death the maidservants of his house before bursting through the roof and flying up into the sky.

The reasons for Sōbyōe's wife becoming a ghost were her unjust death and the neglect of her memorial services. Her husband, not fulfilling his obligations to the dead, faced retribution. Sōbyōe's wife broke out from the realm of the dead and entered the realm of the living to exact a merciless revenge. Even Buddhism could not halt her vendetta. The episode ends with her exacting her vengeance, but she finds no final deliverance of a religious kind.

There are also cases of the opposite type, where on receiving the proper memorial services the heart of the wrathful spirit is

appeased and they settle in a tomb. This is another tale from the '*Shokoku hyaku monogatari*'. There was a samurai by the name of Ōmori Hikogorō (大森彦五郎) from Kameyama (亀山) near Kyoto. Hikogorō's wife was a great beauty and he loved her greatly, but sadly she died in childbirth. Hikogorō had little thought of remarriage, but three years later was finally pressured into marrying again. His second wife was very wise and well brought up. Every day she would perform memorial rites for her deceased predecessor.

The first wife had loved to play the board game Sugoroku (双六). Soon after her death, her ghost started to appear in the family home each night…to play Sugoroku with the maidservants. However, after a while she stopped appearing out of consideration for the household. The second wife made a Sugoroku board and placed it at the tomb of the deceased first wife...

Ghosts still clinging to this world and haunting its inhabitants may retreat to their tombs to roam no more, if those with a connection to them give them the care they need.

As we have seen, the ghosts of the early modern period were from the most ordinary walks of life. Ghosts were thought to remain quietly in their tombs so long as the living kept their side of the bargain and performed the necessary memorial rituals. However, if the living were to breach the contract or commit acts of cruelty, then the dead were quick to cross the bounds of the realm of the living in the form of horrifying ghosts. All of the ghosts had a particular enemy who was the target of their vendetta. Nothing whatsoever would satisfy the ghost until it had wreaked its vengeance. Not even with the power of the Buddha could that all-consuming desire for vengeance be contained.

The middle ages also had their ghosts, wandering this world having left it cherishing attachments and regrets. The Heian nobleman Minamoto no Tooru (源融) was deeply attached to the house which he had put his heart and soul into building. According to the '*Konjaku monogatari shu*' (今昔物語集), he continued living there even after his death. The '*Konjaku monogatari shu*' and '*Hokke genki*' (法華験記) were both compiled during the early medieval period. They both contain tales of young women

suffering in the hell said to exist deep beneath Mount Tateyama (立山), who appeared as ghosts seeking salvation. Far from wishing to take revenge on someone, these women hoped to be freed from hell by the power of the Buddha.

The ghosts of the medieval period were for the most part those of people of power and prosperity, the extremely exceptional. These hauntings ended not with a vendetta being brought to a bloody conclusion, but with the ghost finding salvation in the Buddha. In the early modern period, quite to the contrary, it was possible for anyone at all, no matter how ordinary, to become a ghost. There is also a key difference in quality between the grudge held by the early modern ghost – the satisfaction or removal of which was unmediated by any transcendent savior – and the medieval ghosts, suffering and shut off from the salvation which would end that suffering.

By the early modern period, ghosts would no longer seek salvation of the religious kind. They had but a single goal – the ruthless pursuit of revenge on those that killed them and abandoned their bodies. This is the reason, then, for the mass emergence in the early modern period of vengeful ghosts pursuing vendettas, which directly reflected the realities of human relationships in secular society.

Taking another look at perceptions life and death

If you read an introductory text on Japanese culture, you often find something written about the distinctive qualities of Japanese people's views of life and death. Most books of that type explain that the traditional Japanese belief has been that the dead do not go to some far off place but remain close to the places which are familiar to them.

The source of this commonly accepted explanation may be traced to the work of the father of Japanese folklore studies, Yanagita Kunio (柳田国男). '*Senzo no hanashi*' (先祖の話 'About our Ancestors'), published in 1946, is one of his key works. In it, Yanagita portrays Japanese people as living their

day-to-day lives in constant interaction with deceased ancestors, whom he sees as being close to the living, familiar to them. According to Yanagita, the place in which the spirits were believed to reside was the mountains. The souls of those who had passed on resided on mountaintops from whence they could watch over their descendants and the places in which they had lived, being welcomed into their former homes at festival times.

Part of the reason for the persuasiveness of Yanagita's theory that the dead remain close at hand to the living is that it matches the perceptions of many Japanese people even today: it seems real to them. When we visit the tombs of our ancestors, we can feel the real presence of the dead; we can feel them looking at us. However, as we have seen, this is not a "Japanese" sensibility passed down in this country through the ages.

Yanagita's sketch of "ancestors close at hand", copied faithfully by so many folklorists and scholars of religion, represents only the last 300 hundred years of the long history of the Japanese islands. Before that it was generally thought, quite to the contrary, that the dead residing in this world led an unhappy existence. The coming to an end of that worldview marks the key change in the understanding of ghosts which occurred between the middle ages and early modern period.

We now need to thoroughly re-inspect the received views of "Japanese cultural studies", bringing in East Asian and other international perspectives. I sincerely hope that everyone here, being less affected by ways of thinking that Japanese people have become used to, will want to contribute to a deepening of Japan Studies from a cross-cultural standpoint.

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INTERCULTURAL AESTHETICS AND VISUAL ARTS

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METHODOLOGICAL QUESTIONS OF INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN JAPAN AND EUROPE

Internal and External Perspectives: Or the Challenges of Intercultural Philosophy

The field of "Intercultural Philosophy" emerged sometime in the mid-1980s and it has consistently developed further, in methodical and systematic terms as well as in terms of the constructive appropriation of historical modes of consciousness and cultural moorings and of social and political attributes. Certainly for a long time there have been so-called "Comparative Studies," followed by "Post-Colonial Studies," which allow for a connection with the strongly "transcultural" orientation in the field of "Cross-Cultural Studies" and which appear to have a certain dominance in the contemporary usage of language. Setting aside all of these discourses now, I would like—still—to favor the field of "Intercultural Philosophy," and I believe that I have good reasons for doing so.[1]

Being occupied with various forms of culture and thought, we see that the problem between "internal" and "external," or put another way, between participant and observer, is always put before us. Usually we mean that "from the inside" alone is guaranteed to be an authentic position (authentic because it

1 Cf. Georg Stenger, '*Differenz:* Unterscheidungen, Differenzierungen, Dimensionen', in Monika Kirloskar-Steinbach, Gita Dharampal-Frick, Minou Friele (ed. by), *Die Interkulturalitätsdebatte – Leit- und Streitbegriffe/ Intercultural Discourse – Key and Contested Concepts* (Freiburg/Munich: Alber, 2012), pp. 45-55.

is lived and experienced). On the other side, however, it also appears to be clear that when we regard the internal perspective alone for "the truth" (the insider perspective), we are not equipped against dangers spanning from creeping absolutism and over-determination all the way to dogmatizing and theoretical blindness, all of which we want to exclude. We therefore need, and indeed always use, a "perspective from the outside" in order to be able to grasp the internal perspective as such, on the one hand, and on the other, in order to include each further horizon, which—as the basic enterprise of philosophy—always proceeds with universal meaning, determination, validity, and so forth.

The question quickly emerges: From where do I have and from where do I take up this "access from outside"? Is this question itself not imprisoned by a certain "interior," which (initially) convinced me, which appeared evident to me, and which, making things contentious, only then appears possible, if, in surpassing or relativizing old evidence/conviction, new/evidence conviction becomes comprehensible? If I speak in this connection of a "rediscovering of philosophy" in terms of intercultural demands, then this is because I tread directly on to the terrain of this "double structure" of "inner" and "outer" described anew just now and with even stronger vehemence in the foreground. The question that I would like to keep in mind more strongly—in view of this intercultural demand—is that every type of thinking is anchored culturally, linguistically, bodily, historically, locally, and so forth, which—in other words—allows it internally to become its not-to-be-overcome "participant perspective," which itself is also constituted in terms of lifeworlds, of culture/society, as well as of academic philosophy. This does not mean giving priority to the "observer perspective," which also would not work at all; we have always and already taken these in (somewhat through our anthropological distancing and the linguistic capabilities thereby enabled, or from an "I, which all of my representations have to be able to accompany" [Kant] among others). But, howsoever ascribable each detail, each and every observer perspective can be only as such, because they participate or have somewhere previously participated in the matter from out of which they have

been in the position of arguing as sources for themselves. To summarize it briefly: Between both "perspectives" an "inter" is already active, both of which shut off each against the other and without which both would be delivered to the fate of "frog in the well" described by Zhuang Zi, which Ram A. Mall has diagnosed as the basic problem of the "universalizing of particularity." "It is not the frog perspective that is an error. The actual error consists in the exclusivity of bordered-off sight."[2] In this moment, we stand neither here nor there, nor simply "in between," which is to say as stuck in the middle; rather we always have already taken, be it either clearly and consciously or also unconsciously, a position, a standpoint, from out of which we understand ourselves, from out of which we engage in argument. This standpoint is not to be abandoned without any further fanfare; it manifests itself however precisely when we proceed philosophically as though we are, in the words of Ernest Hemingway, "on the peak of an iceberg," the base and abyss of which we indeed cannot see, although this iceberg carries over precisely in our standpoint. Put another way: Why do we represent this or that point of view as we represent it? Why do we insist however, in conjunction with every argument inherent in "claims of wisdom," on that which we sense and anticipate as being that which we can pronounce and know. One could also call this "basic experience," which lies at the base of every type of thinking, every type of self-understanding, and which however itself does not immediately come into view because it carries and constitutes the not-too-frustrating floor of assumptions of subjectivity, of *Dasein*, of lifeworld, and so forth, and is therefore world-opening in character.[3]

2 Ram Adhar Mall, 'Das Projekt interkulturelles Philosophieren heute', *Polylog, Zeitschrift für interkulturelles Philosophieren*, 25 (2011), p. 12.

3 See Georg Stenger, *Philosophie der Interkulturalität - Erfahrung und Welten. Eine phänomenologische Studie* (Freiburg/München: Alber, 2006, Japanese translation underway); particularly "Europa und Japan" and the chapter "Grunderfahrung", pp. 479-652 and 528-560.

Methodological Awareness and Experiential Sense - Why Do This Phenomenologically?

It was already Husserl's basic phenomenological insight that, so as not to run aground on any perceptual belief in straightforwardness, in so-called reality and empiricism in things simply being given, e.g. a certain "dogmatism of perception" as well, we must step back from this, e.g. we must "practice epoché," in order to obtain access to the respective ways in which things are given. This is what Bernard Waldenfels has refined in terms of a "process…in which *subject matter and means of access are irresolvably intertwined*"[4] where he takes seriously the insight from Kant's transcendental philosophy where the method means the subject, while at the same time deepening and furthering it in terms of his specific problematic of method and subject. "'*Perceiving otherwise is perceiving the Other*,' as Levinas succinctly puts it" (Ibid). With respect to the thematizing of the Other, one will therefore not come across it in a phenomenology of experience of the Other. For "'Having experiences' would mean undergoing something and not producing something […] In the (thinking of empiricism and of rationalism) experience means oppositely a process in which sense constructs and articulates itself and in which things take on structure and form. Phenomenology has to do with, as Merleau-Ponty calls it, a sense in statu nascendi and not with the givenness of a complete world."[5] Beyond the ever-methodologically informed self-clarification of phenomenology, wherein reason itself as subject (consciousness, etc.) and as object (world, etc.) becomes the object of study,[6] phenomenology distinguishes itself "through a particular style of thinking and questioning that one can characterize as *demonstrative thinking*. This means that

4 Bernhard Waldenfels, *Einführung in die Phänomenologie* (Munich: Fink, 1992), p. 19.

5 Bernhard Waldenfels, 'Topographie des Fremden', *Studien zur Phänomenologie des Fremden* 1 (1997), p. 19.

6 See Stenger, *Philosophie der Interkulturalität*, pp. 48-56.

conceptual clarification, argumentation, and systematicity, as meaningful as they are, do not dominate the field one-sidedly."[7]

"Mutual Opening" and "Deepening" through Method- and Subject-Oriented Clarification Work

This intertwining of means of access and subject matter, which in my assessment cannot be gotten past, already allows for conjecture as to which respective pre-decisions are presumably encountered on the basis of a means of access and thereby seen in terms of basic concepts. Being aware of this, e.g. making what is methodologically basic into a theme, appears to be of great relevance here. This further means doing so not only on the basis of a method—considered philosophically and indeed with basic theoretical concepts being involved—but at the same time it means wanting to operate in a value-neutral way, where rather than continuing in manipulating the means of access and the subject matter not with what was posited of them once upon a time, there is a move instead to seeing those occurrences that show themselves as open to criticism and review as mutually self-challenging and self-demanding. Formulated in a more pronounced way: It is first through this that something opens up, e.g. here getting to know means of access and subject matter as mutually opening each other, out of which also emerges what one calls the power of persuasion, insight, and so forth.

With this opening, a "deepening" is involved at the same time, insofar as what is common to this self-opening of both sides sets free and makes possible a type of creative back-knowledge and back-grasping of latent deep structures, which things like language, art, religion, ritual, etc. "bear" as cultural sources of power and meaning for humans, and which sometimes also work to hinder, block, or occupy. For only what bears can also hinder, however the "bearing motif" is basically what is decisive here, and so it

7 Bernhard Waldenfels, 'Bewährungsproben der Phänomenologie', *Philosophische Rundschau*, 57 (2010), pp. 154-178, p. 157.

carries this through itself, it empowers also "heaving off" the deep structures, which is to say setting them free and bringing them to where they can unfold. The aspect of the future, or said better, "what remains to come" (Derrida) of all of those fields addressed, to which yet even more belong, circumscribes the actual present-day state of mutual intercultural formative processes.

A bit of direction is needed here: I distinguish somewhat between "high structures" and "deep structures": the former is served by thematic fields like human rights, mainly questions of law, going all the way up to ways of understanding justice, whereas the latter can be counted in terms of morality, political meaning, the body politic, and so forth. High structures are suited primarily for a universal measure, namely that of validity. Deep structures are more strongly determined through prevailing cultural contexts, as they take effect through what is bodily and how those cultural contexts experience themselves, at the very least as "passively synthesized" (Husserl), where this taking effect is meant in this sense of "seated meditative repose (zazen)" and "location" in the East Asian world, or also through language, which inhabits a communicative and also identificatory self-understanding. Wilhelm von Humboldt already attended to this is in his comparative linguistic studies of comparative theory, however, and this appears to me to be noteworthy, not under the logical directive of the necessary search for a *tertium comparationis*, but rather regarding linguistically anchored worldviews, which are inscribed qua this constellation, such that "all understanding…is always at the same time a not-understanding, all agreement in thought and feeling is at the same time the departure of each from the other."[8] If Humboldt speaks of the "activity of every speech" from the "act of generation,"[9] then this shows in the potential of creativity, as that which understanding already intimates with respect to its creative

8 Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts*, in *Werke in fünf Bänden*, vol. III (Darmstadt: WBG, 1994), p. 439.

9 Humboldt, p. 418 and p. 438 (passim).

establishment, especially in regard to cultural and intercultural practices of understanding. Here too basic experiences, which themselves do not appear, nonetheless make up the ground for possible apparent forms of reality. In the latter it sticks out that, in opposition to an understanding of philosophy characterized as western, whereby art and religion themselves are integrated as components in philosophy, in the Japanese understanding, a stronger "proprietary claim" between art (e.g. diverse "ways of art"), religion/s, and philosophy is stressed, which above all may be a ground for philosophy first having emerged as an independent domain with the opening of Japan to the West during the Meiji Period. With respect to language, this therefore allows for speaking of a constitutive connection between "cultural experiential thinking and language generation," which I would like to point to briefly with the example of the Japanese language. Here one comes across the particular feature that the topos of the "human" (person), rendered in Japanese as "*ningen*" 人間 or also as "*hito*" (人), actually means "*between* human and human"[10], which in the latter also is designated as being "*between* human and nature" and above all as "*nin-gen*," the "social person" or "existence as being-in-between".[11] Pointing as well mainly to the grammatical idiosyncrasies of the Japanese language, whereby instead of subject-relatedness there is predicate-relatedness and, above all, an occurrence-orientation, and where instead of abstract logocentrism and formalities, situational and locational boundedness dominate sentence construction. By understanding language as respectively inscribed in cultural-social connections, i.e. in a mutual occurrence of call-and-response where each has followed and still follows from the other, i.e. then also as mutual formation, one may thus measure the scope of linguistic architecture philosophically and moreover in terms of meaning (which is to say in terms of propositional logic, as well as syntactically, grammatically, semantically, pragmatically, etc.). Yet a basic word like the Chinese "*Qi*" or

10 See Bin Kimura, *Zwischen Mensch und Mensch: Strukturen japanischer Subjektivität* (Darmstadt: WBG, 1995).

11 See Tetsurō Watsuji, *Fudo - Wind und Erde* (Darmstadt: WBG, 1992).

the analog Japanese "*Ki*" can mean close to everything that we subsume under the "spiritual" level, and it can also mean bodily energy, strength, flow, fluidity, waft, breath, and so forth, where nature and spirit are never separated.[12] What interests me here is the constitutive connection of cultural experience and language. "Experience" can never be "simple" experience; it remains, as Husserl says, "dumb," and this is precisely the reason why it is poised immediately and at the same time uncritically against itself. Merleau-Ponty gave voice to this with his inimitable and truly "chiasmic" ways of speaking: "Speaking and writing mean, *translating* an experience, which however first comes to be in text through the word that it itself evokes."[13]

A further point of view relates to the connection between "nature and technology," where above all the differing ways of understanding nature that exist respectively in Japan and the European West come into view. One must give further background here, and I must leave the topic with the note that I want rather to speak of "taking values [*Wertnehmung*]" (see Husserl and Scheler) rather than simple "perception [*Wahrnehmen*]," and this preferred method would deal with the "intertwining of ethics and aesthetics" which the performative and medial occurrences of culture and cultures respectively have particularly in view.

"Encounter" and "Dialogue"

1) To me, the Japanese topos of the "in between" ("*aida*," originating from the old-Japanese word "*awai*")[14] appears to

12 See Ichirō Yamaguchi, *Ki als leibhaftige Vernunft* (Munich: Fink, 1997).

13 Quoted from Bernhard Waldenfels, *Deutsch-französische Gedankengänge* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1995), p. 115. The German translation (*Vorlesungen I*, Berlin, De Gruyter 1973, p. 41) lacks the portion cited and translated from the original French text: Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Résumés de Cours. Collège de France 1952-1960* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968), p. 41.

14 Cf. Toru Tani, '"Zwischen" und Begegnung – im Zusammenhang mit Megumi SAKABE's Interpretation der Moderne', in *Diskurse der Moderne/n aus interkulturell-transkultureller Perspektive*; A Colloquium led by Georg Stenger as part of the Kongress der „Deutschen Gesellschaft für Philosophie"

be able to be quite helpful not only for Japanese thinking, but for intercultural thinking as well. It points however to a basic constellation, which on one side signals "openness," thus also highly esteeming what is open and self-opening, and on the other side aims at a mutually dynamic occurrence, wherein culturally impregnated ways of understanding culture stemming from themselves can be loosened from their most stereotypical constitutions, in which they set each other into motion responding to and resonating off of each other, transforming themselves in the process.[15] Well-known Japanese thinkers like Watsuji, Nishida, Nishitani, Ueda, Kimura, Sakabe and so forth all make reference to this basic topos in fundamental ways, which I hold to be a basic philosophical concept, but which in my view still does not appear in any history of philosophical concepts. On this occasion it should be considered in general whether one could call upon a compendium, lexicon, or the like of non-European basic concepts, wherein all of the East-Asian and Japanese basic concepts from the above would be taken up and be discussed. Certainly this would naturally need a large team of researchers that would have to compile this for themselves. Just to tease this out, what would occur with those concepts of "substance" or "subject" resting at the base of thinking in Occidental-Western civilization, which generally enjoy no such high rank in East Asian thinking as opposed to the "in-between"? Or what do we do philosophically with termini like "absolute nothingness" (*zettai mu*) or "emptiness" (*kū*), a "simultaneity" (*soku*) of "emptiness" and "appearance," a "being-so" (*ari no mama*), or "becoming self-aware" (*jikaku*), which are indeed also translated as "self-consciousness," but which each offer completely different semantic senses than this concept has in Western philosophy? For all of these "concepts," hardly any equivalent is to be found. And yet what is being dealt with here is a genuine philosophy!

2) Cultures qua cultures, so it appears, are basically interested in a creative dialogue, which searches for a constructive and

(DGPhil) 2014 under the congress theme: „Geschichte – Gesellschaft – Geltung" (Hamburg: Meiner-Verlag, 2015, under preparation).

15 See Stenger, *Philosophie der Interkulturalität*, pp. 416-459.

creative debate. Overly quick harmonization and universalization appears to be more than counterproductive to this. Precisely the insistence of cultural worlds on their "truth" demonstrates the seriousness of everything, showing in the closed circuit of necessity, of taking issue with other cultures, and of not proceeding in terms of proprietary modes of self-understanding with these things. This means: In "between" cultures, thus in allowing for call-and-response of their outward manifesting potentials far from the so-called given and the real, which come forth intra- and interculturally as a matter of constitution, which I would like to call, the *concreative moment*,[16] there exists the potential for a decisive key concept for intercultural philosophy to emerge.

3) Even if we were to be able to have the "privilege" to be indoctrinated interculturally to some degree, this process—and it will itself be meaningfully a process that occurs in various ways—remains coupled with an important question, which at the moment I hold in any case to be one of the most important, precisely as respects self-reflexive understanding: The task does not arrive alone at the highest and at the same time most ambitious claim of intercultural thought *and* experience by occupying itself with the so-called non-European traditions of thought; it suffices therefore to show how essential such work is, indeed for philosophy itself. This means however, and this is above all the "challenge," that this occupation must proceed *on the level* of the classical continental figures and philosophies instead! This is unequally more labor-intensive, not just seen in terms of the overwhelming body of literature, but rather in the context of it possibly having to deal with different "subject constitutions," "stances," etc., which it effectively takes up and at the same time effectively learns. There must be a "new modesty": learning to stop, being able itself to allow giving something which one previously did not so have or could have had at all.

Taking a part to represent the whole, I would like to come to

16 I take this topos from Heinrich Rombach, *Der Ursprung. Philosophie der Konkreativität von Mensch und Natur* (Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach, 1994). For more, see Stenger, *Philosophie der Interkulturalität*, pp. 714-717 and pp. 882-946.

speak briefly about Nishida Kitarō, who precisely on the basis of a particular reception far exceeding all of his contemporaries in domains of Western philosophy—primarily in Germany's domestic streams of neo-Kantianism, philosophy of life, and phenomenology, the philosophy of Henri Bergson in France, and that of William James in America, which is also like the particular approach to "pure experience" that people like Fichte and Hegel among others developed—and who, working against the backdrop of Buddhist and Zen Buddhist traditions, developed, one wants to say, genuinely Japanese philosophy.[17] The later Nishida (from after 1926 or so), having brought the so-called "logic of place" on its way, spoke of a "contradictory self-identity" (logic of *sokuhi*), which on one side takes on its own proprietary dialectical character, and on the other side gains precisely its creative impetus from this, which drives forward everything from out of the mutual interactions of "absolute self-negation" and "absolute self-affirmation". Neither am I nor the "thing" nor the "world" presumed, for these proceed out of each other from a process of occurrence ("discontinuous continuity" — "*hirenzoku no renzoku*"). Here, the Japanese "culture of ways" finds its philosophical basis, wherein not only knowledge and actions unite as one (*chigyō gōitsu*), but the whole culminates in "becoming self-aware" (*jikaku*) in which the actual "spirit of the way," meaning genuinely religious and philosophical experience, comes into effect "in the everyday". For Nishida here this deals with the "self-determination of the absolute present," wherein space and time result, as well as historical time and the historical world in and as a "place." The concept of the "logic of place," which in any case is based on a, one could say, "foregoing of experience," strived to show that, before a simple dialectical occurrence of mediation, it still deals with the opening of a sense of experience, which approaches "from the world outward" as the conditional foil of subject constitution. Here it can become clear to what degree there is from the beginning in the East Asian

17 Kitarō Nishida, *Über das Gute. Eine Philosophie der Reinen Erfahrung* (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel, 1990).

side a certain uneasiness with respect to a Western concept of subject and person and where the specifically East Asian and Japanese subject constitution might otherwise lie.[18] Already with just the word "*ningen*" for human (as described above), the fact that there is the desire to circumscribe it in translation with the notion of "Being-in-between of human and human, human and nature," should give a hint here. As Nishida himself observes, "The Europeans tend to hold their own culture up until now to be the only highly developed one and the best one. They tend to believe that other people must also, if they are to make progress in development, do just as they themselves do. I hold this to be a petty fantasy. The original form of the history of culture is richer as I understand it."[19] Nishida's thinking itself developed from an encounter with Western philosophy, which itself makes a Japanese impression on "modern thinking."[20] As Nishida also writes, "The true culture of the world forms itself only through it being that varying cultures, while preserving their own standpoints, develop through the mediation of the world itself. One should deeply consider and then clarify in terms of this goal the basis of one's own culture, taking into account on what basis it rests and what relations it has to other cultures. What difference exists between the foundations of Eastern and Western culture?"[21]

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18 See Kitarō Nishida, 'Selbstidentität und Kontinuität der Welt', in Ryōsuke Ōhashi (ed. by), *Die Philosophie der Kyōto-Schule. Texte und Einführung* (Freiburg/München: Alber, 1990), pp. 54-118. Kitarō Nishida, 'Die Welt als Dialektisches Allgemeines', in Yukio Matsudo (ed. by), *Die Welt als Dialektisches Allgemeines. Eine Einführung in die Spätphilosophie von Nishida Kitarō* (Berlin: Vistas, 1990), pp. 115-246. Rolf Elberfeld (ed. by), *Logik des Ortes. Der Anfang der modernen Philosophie in Japan* (Darmstadt: WBG, 1999). Ryōsuke Ōhashi, 'Vom Selbstwissen zur Ortlogik. Nishida und die Phänomenologie.', in Hans R. Sepp (ed. by): *Metamorphose der Phänomenologie. Dreizehn Stadien von Husserl aus* (Freiburg/Munich: Alber, 1999), pp. 58-85.

19 Kitarō Nishida, *NKZ 12* (= Complete Works of Nishida in 19 Vols.), Tokyo, 4th edition 1987-89, p. 390f; cited here as translated following Elmar Weinmayr, 'Denken im Übergang – Kitarō Nishida und Martin Heidegger', in Hartmut Buchner (ed. by), *Japan und Heidegger* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), pp. 39-61, here p. 39.

20 See Footnote 12.

21 *NKZ 7*, pp. 429-453; here in Ōhashi, *Die Philosophie der Kyōto-Schule*, p. 41; also see Kitarō Nishida, ‚Die morgenländischen und die abendländischen

Interdisciplinarity

That theme, which stands on the intercultural level of the debate, emerges naturally also in *inter*disciplinary terrain, only that there the object areas as well as methodological settings, i.e. each according to subject disciplines, are clearly or at least more clearly outlined. It is today the talk of interdisciplinary research, so everyone agrees: this must be! The question is only how this should be implemented without it being that this veritable enterprise only receives lip service? For has it therefore been done, if we simply say that we are doing it interdisciplinarily? What does that mean, in view of the fact that each academic discipline has to be only for this, because it has to be able to develop its own terrain of area-specific, horizon-bound, categorical, and basic conceptual situation?

There almost appears to me at the moment the ability to engage in an exciting research project, which asks itself, what is to fall under "interdisciplinarity" and what its real achievement could consist in, if this should remain not simply an assemblage of subjects that find themselves together on the basis of an investigatory object or context. With an "action between the disciplines," i.e. with real constructive *inter*disciplinary research, not only would the individual disciplines open up more strongly and come into their own with and through each other; together they would attain a level of research that is higher, because it would be dynamic and sustainable. "Japan," its culture, its history, its art and literature, its form of society, its political implications, its forms of identification and its experience of the Other internally and externally, its place in East Asia and in the world as a whole, and so forth – all of this (and thus Japan) appears to be able to be a perfect paradigmatic case for an *interdisciplinary research project*.

Kulturformen in alter Zeit vom metaphysischen Standpunkt aus gesehen', in Helmut Schneider (ed. by), *Zusammenhänge. Jahrbuch für Asiatische Philosophie*, 1 (2006), pp. 5–24.

Fruitful Difference

I wanted in my introduction to point out above all, that in mutual formative processes between cultures a mutual absorption and reception, indeed a creation, a new interpretation, is at work from the beginning. For indeed it is factual contact which at the same time admits that it is mutual esteem that first makes it possible to open up what the notion of "identity" makes possible in establishing the sense described by me— namely, an identity, whose genuine, so to say, constitutive self-understanding is immediately a "work on and with difference." Yes, through the experience of "the Other" there follows a push back upon one's "own self," which in itself becomes fragile through this, where again new possibilities consist in the circulation of the self, the familiar, and the Other.[22] Especially being thrown back to each own self "locates" us to the effect that we ourselves, i.e. grasping more deeply in our never removable individual, social, cultural, historical, emotional and other connections what it means critically and correctively, and this is to say always proceeding self-critically and self-correctively. What is familiar and what is other show themselves not as points of departure, but as stable learning processes growing together. Only where the familiar can be foreign to us is it able to open us ourselves, in all conceivable realms. Otherness and experience of the Other would be such tonics for intercultural dialogue and transformation processes. Enlightenment therefore always means self-enlightenment in a positive sense, meaning at the same time reciprocal deepenings, which in turn are able to evoke possibilities for mutual enhancement. I speak, therefore, of a "fruitful difference" that comes into effect in all dimensions—laterally, horizontally, and vertically—between worlds of culture and thought. In order to circumscribe recourse to Arendt, who has indeed elaborated a concept of power with positive connotations, power, the "ur-

22 On "Experience of the Other" see Georg Stenger, '"Fruchtbare Differenz" – Dimensionen der Fremderfahrung', in Sylke Bartmann, Oliver Immel (ed. by), *Das Vertraute und das Fremde. Differenzerfahrung und Fremdverstehen im Interkulturalitätsdiskurs* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2012), pp. 135-156.

phenomenon of pluralism," does not allow itself to be grasped from the perspective of this capability, because it first *pops up "in between pluralism."*[23]

Overall, the concern is to make the topos of "difference" strong and on that basis to develop a new understanding of *"pluralism,"* which under the auspices of *intercultural* thought would be able to shake up ancestral categories, basic concepts, and theoretical examples in constructive ways. Looking backwards and looking forward, I hold the thesis to be current, indeed for a challenge to philosophy to straighten itself, whereby not only on the basis of external reasons philosophy must become intercultural, but rather out of internal philosophical reasons, it must (be) *interculturalize(d)* itself.[24] It is on this – certainly a daring thesis – that the future meaning and traction of what we (want to) understand as "philosophy" essentially depends. As a critic of the self-beatifying reason of the Western orientation and its prophesying of ends, Michel Foucault said the following during a residence at a Zen temple in Japan: "If there is thus a philosophy of the future, then it must exist outside of Europe, or it must exist as a consequence of encounters and shocks between Europe and non-Europe."[25]

23 See Hannah Arendt, *Denktagebuch* Bd. 1 (Munich/Zürich: Piper, 2002), p. 106f.

24 See Stenger, *Philosophie der Interkulturalität*, p. 55f., passim.

25 Michel Foucault und das Zen: ein Aufenthalt in einem Zen-Tempel 1978', in Michel Foucault, *Dits et Ecrits, Schriften, Dritter Band 1976-1979* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2003), pp. 776-782, here p. 781.

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SOME IDEAS FOR AN INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

When we speak of "intercultural dialogue" it is necessary to make some assumptions to clarify well the two concepts that are used.

The term 'dialogue' does not mean a simple comparison of different opinions, but a radical and mutual questioning of the different opinions that are compared. It is, in short, a dialogue that – recalling the ways and purposes of the Platonic Dialogues – could be called a *Socratic*, or – recalling the clarifications made by Panikkar – a *dialogical dialogue*.

Similarly, the term 'intercultural' not only means an exchange of views between different cultures, but also a discussion on the different characteristics of cultures that are involved in this debate.

Therefore, in this regard the term 'intercultural' refers to a broader perspective than that designated by the term 'multicultural'. Multiculturalism, in fact, refers to a *space* where each culture finds its place and its legitimacy *alongside* the others; instead, the term "intercultural" refers also and above all to the *experience* in which each culture is *intertwined* with another by the dialogical activity.

Now, if we look at the past of the relationships between cultures, attitudes are mostly far from multiculturalism and even further from interculturality. Indeed, the prevailing attitude of European culture, at least from 1492 onwards, was to consider itself superior because *better* than non-European.

This attitude, although it has declined in various ways, can be generally defined as *monoculturalist* or *Eurocentric*, meaning that it has taken the European culture as a privileged point of

reference and as a parameter value by which not only to analyze and study, but also to *judge* and 'fix' other cultures.

Within this attitude lurks two obvious mistakes: first, to consider the European culture as homogeneous and stable over time, while history proves just the opposite; that is, its plurality and its variability, as well as its internal contradictions.

Second, it is clear that the monoculturalist attitude is based on an 'optical' distortion, in the sense that it favors *one* point of view as if it were the *only* point of view. It would be enough to study the history of China or India to understand how in many historical moments China and India have been considered centers of civilization (obviously, the Chinese and Indian monoculturalisms have the same defects as the European!).

Well, today can we declare ourselves free of this monoculturalist perspective just because some forms of political and economic colonialism and imperialism have collapsed or weakened? Is it not true that subtle forms of cultural colonialism still persist, or are even growing stronger? Many people felt that globalization would lead to a definitive end to all cultural perspectives that intend to impose themselves on others; instead, a general expansion in the world of Western cultural ways, beginning with the spread of the English language, ending with the theories and practices of capitalism, occurred on a massive scale.

In this context, the intercultural perspective has great difficulty to prove its own legitimacy and appropriate fields of intervention.

In fact, if on the one hand, it criticizes any approval of cultures imposed by globalization, it runs the risk, at best, to stop at the level of the multicultural perspective, that is at the simple recognition of the equivalence of all cultures. On the other hand, if it tries to overcome the limits of multiculturalism that simply *records* the plurality of cultures, it is likely to propose some forms of universalism that are *external* to all cultures, or even worse, that result from a forced and illegitimate universalization of a particular culture. Now, trying to deal with these difficulties, it is preferable to abandon the plan of the general considerations, and move on to some specific cases.

Using simple examples to illustrate the differences between forms of monoculturalism, multiculturalism, and interculturality, we can take the case of the different attitudes towards the diversities of foods. There is the attitude of those who refuse any food other than those to which they are accustomed, in the presumption that their own tradition is the best: this is a form of monoculturalist approach we can define as 'ethnocentred'. There is also the attitude of those who, on the contrary, become fanatic toward foods other than those developed by the culture of their own: this is a form of monoculturalist approach we can define as 'exotic'. There is also the attitude of those who taste foods of any culture without having any preference, thinking they can make a 'scientific', neutral, and impartial judgment: this is a form of multiculturalist approach that can also lead to the invention of an absurd 'international cuisine' made of an artificial synthesis of different culinary traditions. Finally, there is the attitude of those who taste foods of different cultures, enjoy their different characteristics and try to learn about their different origins and their different meanings, to compare them with the characteristics, histories and meanings of their own: this is the form of *intercultural* approach.

We will now use a different kind of example, choosing the field of philosophy and focusing on two thinkers, Eastern and Western, we believe traced such an intercultural perspective, although in different ways.

The first example is that of Nishida Kitarō, the most prominent Japanese contemporary thinker. Although he did not explicitly propose a project of intercultural philosophy, he implemented it in practice by working all his life to a titanic enterprise. He clarified and deepened fundamental concepts such as 'consciousness', 'experience', 'history', 'dialectic', 'identity', 'contradiction', etc., in the light of their own religious and philosophical Buddhist background (especially Zen Buddhism of the Rinzai School), but at the same time went through some texts produced by great Western thinkers (Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Eckhart, Spinoza, Fichte, Hegel, James, Husserl, Bergson) – *reading them in their original languages*. It should be noted that he made this huge

work not to satisfy a mere cultural curiosity, nor with the purpose of spreading in Japan some exotic thoughts, but with the intention to test the potential truth of those concepts by exposing them to a 'crossfire' of thoughts that are quite different for logical, historical, cultural and, above all, linguistic reasons. Therefore, the philosophical enterprise of Nishida constitutes a form of Socratic dialogue where different philosophical positions are not taken as fixed points of closed prospects, but as open spaces that produce opportunities for meetings and transformative discussions.

Nishida indeed is not interested to present to Japanese readers the "essentials" of this or that Western thinker – or, worse, of "Western philosophy" in general – and then make an aseptic comparison with this or that Eastern thinker, but plunges directly their reflections on the currents and vortices produced by the encounter between thoughts. These thoughts are all very different but highly significant for the deepening of the problem that in turn affects his attention and goes through his reflections. In other words, Nishida does not attempt to present himself as a completely original author, as if his philosophy could be, by itself, a center or a single magnet; his own thought is rather activated, formed and transformed by the interaction with some deeper expressions of his tradition, on one side, and with some of the most significant expressions of the Western philosophical tradition, on the other.

This operation is done knowing that none of the three terms in the philosophical comparison (himself as a subject who questions, and the two different fields of philosophy that are taken as reference points) exists and works alone, independently of the other two.

The other instance to which we refer is that of François Jullien, who has tested many concepts of Western philosophical tradition ('action', 'wisdom', 'truth', 'image', etc.) by exposing them to the comparison with some forms of classical Chinese thought. This is especially equipped with radical otherness, starting with the language. The results of these comparative experiments seem extraordinary, not only because they produce a considerable

number of interesting comparisons in logic, ethics, politics and aesthetics, but also because those efforts awake in the thinker the awareness of a careful review and reconsideration of the concepts, ideas and values that nurtured the thinker himself and built his or her own cultural and philosophical tradition.

In this sense, the experiments conducted by Jullien are good examples of an intercultural philosophy, because, at the same time, they avoid: 1) some forms of reductionism (Eurocentric, or, as opposed, 'exotic', inclined to idolize a foreign culture); 2) the 'conservative' indifference of multiculturalism, prone only to preserve the identity and autonomy of each culture; 3) the abstractions of universalism, both those based on a single principle, and those that nurture the illusion of syncretic harmonies.

In the works of Jullien, indeed, the Chinese thought is neither dismissed as 'primitive' (Eurocentric reduction), nor exalted as the best (exotic reduction); but it is also not merely flattened encyclopedic cataloging or printouts of concordances (multicultural drifts), or used to develop a "world philosophy" (universalist drift with syncretic intentions). Instead, the Chinese thought is examined in a radically philosophical way, that is, as if it were the interlocutor of a *Socratic* dialogue, where the truth is not held by any of the parties, but is produced in a process that questions the rigidity of the concepts acquired by both sides in the game.

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THE AESTHETIC CATEGORIES

All periods of transition are full of agony and *élan*.

The 20th century was an age of transition. In the field of aesthetics we witness a shift from clearly identifiable canons of taste to unidentified aesthetic values. This shift can be interpreted from two opposing points of view: one in support of modern art, as theorized by Walter Benjamin, and the other against, as argued by Hans Sedlmayer.

This passage can be seen as the dawn of a new aesthetic experience and artistic ideation through the evolution of techniques which have led to the present information revolution. The resultant discovery fosters a communication that involves different cultures in a globalizing process of assimilation. However, it may also be viewed as the dusk of our own and of other civilizations founded on cultural models and traditions that are gradually losing their force. What emerges is the distance from nature, the non-defined, the fragmentary, the provocative. The contrast between dawn and dusk results in an aesthetics of chaos, an incessant, undirected flow of the images of things, ending in the loss of those very things. This phenomenon is rapidly involving the whole world and it is coupled with a progressive decline of eurocentrism, with an ever-increasing interest in what is distant from our habits and cultures.

However, these images are also the result of a continuous cultural exchange between different systems of taste, independently of the danger of uniformity in the process of globalization. As we know, a new order can rise from chaos. Also other epochs have been characterized by a sense of expectancy, uncertainty, anxiety. This state of agony, which has been called post-human or post-

cultural, became evident especially in the last decade of the 20th century. Art lost the energy which had informed it during the first half of the century when it was founded on the enthusiasm of the new and the unconventional. In general, it can be said that during the second half of the century the "hope principle" (*Das Prinzip Hoffnung*), as Ernst Bloch defined it, began to wane.

In short, utopia became an evanescent idea and no longer carried the spirit of *élan*. After examining the outcomes of historical events and the developments of ideology, however, it becomes clear that utopia may have taken on a new guise which is not yet distinguishable.

If we shift our focus from Europe to other continents within a broader perspective, it appears that in this phase of transition, the scale of values of diverse civilizations is bound to change in ways that are as yet unpredictable. This does not necessarily imply the annulment of values, but rather, a change in interest, bringing about a new order and appearance.

This is described by some as a collapse, by others as a transformation of the pattern of interiority. Disconcertedness thus becomes mixed with enthusiasm, charting a tormented course for art and aesthetic life, an anxiety of darkness and disharmony. The transience of aesthetic spiritualization (the modes of the transcendence of Art have crumbled) corresponds with disorientation in interpreting and evaluating what is happening. The response to the miracle of technology is a nightmare of the creative imagination. We find ourselves within a new sensibility, between agony and prophecy.

The 20th century saw a progressive expansion of the appeal of other cultural and artistic forms, initially those of the Middle East and Africa, and then those of other continents and epochs. The interest of the beginning of the century in jazz music, Fauve and primitive art shifted, through the evolution of communication, to the hybrid forms of the media, involving artistic styles, cultural roots, and vocations. Non-European artists and writers increasingly draw inspiration from the great Western masters, while European artists evoke with their creativity authors, modes, and worlds culturally distant from their own. In some cases, we

appreciate aspects of local traditions intertwined with the recent strategies of Western art. The novel and the cinema, for instance, no longer represent a European or North-American universe, for they are enriched by influences, events, and movements from other continents.

Aesthetic and artistic research in postindustrial societies today is faced with the frenzy of the virtual and the copy, genetic manipulation, space travel, and holographic reproduction. This unsettled scene, founded on speed, also affects the trends of youth movements. One finds the reflection of this climate in the taste or tastes for the hybrid, a mixture of baroque and realism, of invented historical realities and scientific claims, a sophisticated cross of genres, media, arts, technical devices, and cultural references of various kinds. Depending on the case, the results may be more or less banal or elitist. This free interplay of shifts and simulations accompanies the spread of "authentic" rediscoveries of tradition and of their structures and laws in a sense which is neither purely academic not conservational. The impression, in a view at once perturbed and fascinated, is thus one of an aesthetics of chaos; in reality, it is the intensely agitated image offered by the multiplicity of forms and ways of feeling.

In this climate, at least in the West, a reinvention of myths is taking place, and is characterized by a radical mutation or disfigurement. If we think of myth *per se*, as analyzed by Cassirer, (*The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, 1925) and at the same time if we reflect on the power of the image in today's postindustrial society, on the visual universe predominant in modern civilization, a non-distinction between the ideal and the real emerges due to a strange parallelism between the fundamental and primitive form of myth and the new myths. In today's collective imagination the image seems to be the thing itself, rather than a representation of the thing, for we perceive and experience its simulation as if it were real. Thus a fascination for magic reappears in an age which has marked the end of symbolic value. However, we are not speaking of the ability to change and transfigure the originary myth. New myths are the result of technical reproduction and their effect is indeed

that of dematerialization, not of real identity. The dualism of representation (real and ideal) does not seem to pertain to other cultures; the crisis of myth however affects those as well. This age of transition involves not only myth but also tradition and its fall. It is a phenomenon linked to the growth of a postindustrial aesthetic model. Considering tradition does not mean considering only artistic canons, and the laws of taste. Tradition transmits the idea of being within a scheme of perfectionment.

In European criticism, there has been a great debate on the opposition between the avant-garde and tradition, in terms of innovation or revolution against stylistic conventions. We could instead envision another opposition which is not expressed by the new and the conventional, but by a shock effect and a contemplative attitude. The products of contemporary art are parallel to the trauma of emotions and sensibility, tradition is parallel to the spirit of looking and feeling. This contrast may be more appropriate for an intercultural comparison. There is the risk, however, of conceptual oppositions, because it would not be difficult to imagine some ambiguous cases when their natural reference may be shifted from one domain to another. The theme of tradition and myth should be seen in the light of the evolution of sensibility.

In our century synaesthesia and the similarities between the arts, as well as the exchange between different cultures, have gained increasing influence from a creative, ideational point of view and from a participatory, receptive one. They reflect the condition of contemporary sensibility continually stimulated by the evolution of the mass media, by the decline of compositional conventions, by the abandonment of expressive specificity, by the change in techniques and materials, and by the fall of the system of the fine arts. In every part of the world the 20th century appears to have witnessed and exasperated the shock effect as the dominant aesthetic quality against tradition. Within this contrast, the arts, the senses and the cultural behaviors refer to and affect each other. The situation determined by this aesthetic interlacement is rapidly changing and depends on a vast range of gradations and possibilities, which produces an endless exchange

between the stylistic results of these new means and the elitist production of art.

There are essentially two main comparative models in aesthetics: the one refers to the structure of thought, civilization, and culture in a complex comparison between great traditions from East to West, and from north to south; the other concerns the multifarious forms of art, its objects and results, and the different implications of sensibility in reception. On the one hand, a reflection, or an intercultural analysis is posed, on the other, an exploration into the exchange and correspondence between the arts, the media and the senses is highlighted. All this also entails an interplay of movement towards the *loci* of being, sometimes approaching mythology and the sacred, sometimes linked to the new technologies of communication.

We can try and explain aesthetic categories as the mark of reality and of value in the realm of human sensitivity and of artistic realizations. If we decide to observe, in particular, the field of art, the works seem to follow an intense and complex course of activity in which we see mirrored sets of conceptual elaborations. And if we find a directive will in this activity, it is not actually symbolic, but concretely, ethically and in some respects logically determined. We discover its characteristics in an ongoing work because human creation always implies modeled matter, a doing that develops through techniques that are capable of facing the resistance and the limits of the object.

Reality is given, in its aesthetic experience, which lends itself to opposite interpretations. If possible, however, we should try to maintain the same distance from the position of subjectivists on the one hand, and that of objectivists on the other. The problem involved in this contrast can be stated as follows: is the *aistheton* the cause or the effect of *aesthesis*? Is it the sensation that decides the sensing or vice versa? Faced with the incessant change in the life of forms, we ask ourselves whether such life depends on us or not. Are aesthetic categories the measure of the relationships at the basis of *our* judgments in the realm of sensibility and creative practices, or do they reveal the structure itself of the *objects*? Do they show and affirm the (creative)

intention of the human intellect vis-à-vis nature or perhaps the "intimate" nature of the world on which light is shed through the (aesthetic) experience, in the same way a law of physics approaches observation through (scientific) experience?

The diversity of aesthetic forms organized by our thought as observers (scholars, critics, and so on) and aimed at producing definitive and stable relationships is continually bent by the multiple nature of art which poses its own field of reality, valuation and intellectual construction. This falls within the logic of a dialectic exchange between art and ideas on art.

If we now focus on Japan, can these artistic crossovers and conceptual generalizations make sense? They can because we live in the era of globalization and in the wake of more than two centuries of contact and sharing. How does this apply to Japanese tradition? How can we find the sense of beauty in nature and human representation if we go back in time? We can discover the sense of void, of *ma* [間] and of harmony because they all have an impact on contemporary society, resulting in an unusual mixing of the values of traditional Japanese art and European vanguards. However, Western aesthetic categories are not applicable to what is known as *mono no aware* [もののあはれ] and *wokashi* [をかし] (mainly connected with the Heian period, 704-1185), or *wabi-sabi* [わび・さび] and *yūgen* [幽玄] (especially seen in the Kamakura period, 1185-1333 and Muromachi, 1333-1585) as well as *fūryū* [風流] (especially during the Muromachi period) and *iki* [いき] (Edo period 1600-1867). Over the past few decades aesthetic categories have faced a crisis in Europe as well. Said categories can be reproposed as a spectrum of beauty with a retrospective reflection. How can we use unbiased judgment of taste of a contemplative kind reminiscent of Kant? Are we capable of conveying the words that offer us a universe of attitudes, styles and feeling and translate them into a Western language according to a philosophical system? For example, *yūgen* may recall the sublime, *iki* a certain interpretation of grace, *fūryū* (Meiji) elegance, *wabi-sabi* a melancholic simplicity. Perhaps our languages cannot transfer the sense of these living forms of culture and knowledge. In Japan

the nature of beauty thrives on an immateriality that requires comparative aesthetics in order to be understood. Comparative studies can seek the meaning of Japanese art as an expression of the infinite in the finite, moving towards a liberation from time and space. This expression of the infinite denotes art both in the culture and history of humanity in a universalistic web where Walter Benjamin, Hans Sedlmayer, and Kuki Shūzō [九鬼周造, 1888-1941] meet.

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VERMEER'S *LOVE LETTER* AND THE EAST

The Strange Space in The Love Letter

On June 21st, I wrote letters to my Van Berckhout brothers, one lives in Brile and the other in Breda. Then I went out. Then I met the famous painter named Vermeer. He showed me several of his own works. There was one work amongst them that was unrivaled, one that interested me more than any other, a work that used perspectival rendering. I left Vermeer's house, went to the market and there spoke with friends.

Fig. 1 Johannes Vermeer, *The Love Letter*, 1669-70, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

This diary entry was written in 1669.[1] The author was Pieter Teding van Berckhout (1643-1713). He was a relative of Constantjin Huygens (1596-1687), a famous humanist of the day who was the secretary to the Governor of Holland. Pieter visited Vermeer's home on two occasions, the 14th of May and the 21st of June. Berckhout did not write much in his diary and so we do not have a detailed account of the painting he was referring to. Unfortunately, all we can do is to imagine what might have inspired such comments. However, if we look for a work in Vermeer's oeuvre characterized by the trompe l'oeil technique, the first thing that comes to mind is *The Love Letter* now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (fig. 1).

Not only does *The Love Letter* formally accord with the statement, "works that employ perspectival methods," it also has surprisingly novel content. What might that be? When looking at this work, our attention is first drawn to the two women in the center. The maid wearing a white headscarf is shown giving a letter to her mistress, seated and playing a cittern, a lute-like instrument popular in the 16th and 17th centuries. The maid standing in the background has a knowing smile on her face as she looks down at her mistress. The face of the mistress, who has quickly confirmed the writing on the envelope before looking up at the maid, is awash in a complex range of emotions, revealing her inner feelings and trepidation.

The popular title *The Love Letter* was not original to the work, rather it was something assigned to it in the 19th century. Hence, while we cannot categorically state that this title faithfully conveys the painting's meaning, clearly the item shown was a love letter. And thus we can read a slight shyness in the mistress' face, whose heart races as she receives the much-awaited missive. Shifting our gaze from this subtle psychological drama to the

1 Ben Broos, 'Un celebre Peijntre nommé Verme[e]r', in *Johannes Vermeer* (Exh. Cat.) (Washington/The Hague: 1995–96), pp. 47–65, cat. no. 18. John Michael Montias, *Vermeer en zijn milieu* (Baarn: de Prom, 1993), Appendix B, no. 325. Yoriko Kobayashi小林頼子, *Ferumēru-ron – Shinwa kaitai no kokoromi* [Vermeer – An Attempt at Dissecting the Myth]『フェルメール論 神話解体の試み』 (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobē八坂書房, 1998), p. 46.

background of the painting, we can see a landscape painting with the tiny depiction of the back of a traveler, and a seascape hanging below. Undoubtedly these background elements indicate the woman's letter has something to do with travelers and oceangoing vessels.

Shifting our gaze to the foreground, we see that some sort of curtain hangs down from the ceiling to cut diagonally across the upper part of the entrance to the room where the women appear. Maps of Holland and West Friesland appear faintly amongst the shadows that obscure the wall to the left foreground of the entrance. A musical score lies on the chair on the right. Sandals and a broom appear on the floor just inside the room. Thus the composition is arranged so that the viewer looks through the adjoining room in the foreground, through the open door to glimpse the two women in the room behind.

Fig. 2 Samuel van Hoogstraten, *View of an Interior (The Slippers)*, Musée du Louvre, Paris

And yet, the composition seen in *The Love Letter*, looking through a darkened foreground to a door that opens onto a bright room in the back, is by no means original to Vermeer. Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-78)'s *View of an Interior* (fig. 2) immediately comes to mind as an earlier example of the same spatial arrangement. That work has been nicknamed "The Slippers." Other works that demonstrate similar spatial effects can be found in Jan Steen (1626-79)'s *A Woman at her Toilet* (1663, Queen's Gallery, London), and Pieter de Hooch's *Couple and a Parrot* (fig.3). The perspectival expression in these works, which adroitly employs the "an entrance for the eyes" effect like that in *The Love Letter*, was popular in the Dutch paintings of the period for its audacious ability to stimulate the viewer's eyes.[2]

Fig. 3 Pieter de Hooch, *Couple and a Parrot*, 1668?, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne

2 Cf. Martha Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2002).

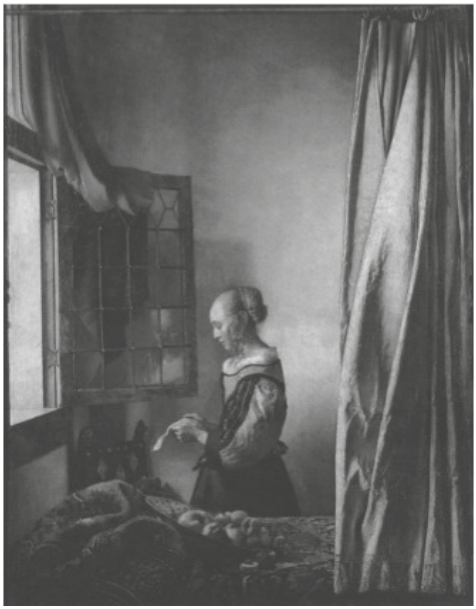


Fig. 4 Johannes Vermeer, *A Girl Reading a Letter at a Open Window*, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden

Depicted Letters

The depiction of a letter in a painting set in an everyday scene was transformed by 17th-century Dutch painting into a complete painting genre in and of itself. These 17th-century Dutch painters frequently used letters as small props in their paintings to convey all manner of thoughts, recollections or metaphorical meanings. Vermeer was also part of this practice. From such early period works as his 1650s painting *A Girl Reading a Letter at an Open Window* (fig. 4) to *The Love Letter* (fig. 1), which dates to the end of the 1660s, Vermeer included letters in six of his extant paintings. First I will give an overview of this painting theme that can be called "letter paintings."

It is particularly striking that Johann Comenius (1592-1670), the Protestant theorist and educator, numbers letters as

one of Europe's cultural achievements, alongside the invention of printing, the discovery of gunpowder, and the voyages of Columbus. According to Comenius, the indigenous people of the Americas were unable to comprehend the power of the Spanish at the beginning of the 16th century to convey information through letterform.[3]

> Nor could the American Indians comprehend how one man is able to communicate his thought to another without the use of speech, without a messenger, but by simply sending a piece of paper. Yet with us a man of the meanest intelligence can understand this.

And yet, considered from another vantage point, originally letters were seen as having the magical power to convey secrets. This concept is also introduced in Karel van Mander's *Schilder-Boeck* (1604), which was the first true painting theory book published in the Netherlands (primarily the Belgian and Dutch regions).[4] Van Mander quoted from a book by a Milanese author who spent 14 years in the West Indies. Immediately before recounting this story, Van Mander wrote a fascinating comment about how words can evoke images. This reflected his awareness of the strong link between writing words and drawing pictures. Through the written word people can evoke vivid images of art, scholarship, and history, and indeed, in today's terms, the written word can evoke a sense of color video. He also stated, "Even if separated by far distance, people can convey their thoughts to each other through the nonmaterial messenger [letter]." Thus for the people of that time, the magical power of the letter far surpassed that imagined by people today.

In terms of paintings that focus on letters, the first to come to mind is Thomas de Keyser (1596-1667)'s *Constantijn Huygens and his Clerk* (fig.5), depicting Huygens then resident in Amsterdam. Huygens, the secretary to Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647), the governor of Holland, is shown being handed

3 Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing* (Chicago: Murray, 1983), p. 198.
4 Karel van Mander, *Schilder-boeck* (Haarlem: van Wesbusch, 1604), fol. 51v, pp. 18–19.

a letter by his clerk. Portraits that depict letters are a traditional expressive means of implying that the subject of the portrait is a *homo literatus*, a learned person. And yet, there is more to it than that. In this painting we can see the precursors to a new era.

Fig. 5 Thomas de Keyser, *Constantijn Huygens And his Clerk*, The National Gallery, London

In fact, over the course of his life Huygens wrote more than 78,000 letters. As transportation and trade networks expanded, his network of people led to the spread of letters, which were not only a tool for the exchange of information, but also a means of communicating such human emotions as delight and sadness. Svetlana Alpers, well known even in Japan for her book the *Art of Describing*, has linked paintings with Jean-Puget de La Serre's book of letter samples, *La Secretaire a la Mode*, which was so popular it ran to 19 editions in just the two decades between 1643 and 1664. Such books were letter etiquette guides for adults, and the love letter was one type of letter covered in such

manuals.[5] The genre of "letter paintings" thus emerged amidst such social circumstances, and yet the "letter paintings" that were fashionable in 17th century Dutch painting were not simply painted forms of the social custom of writing. Of particular note is the fact that the majority of the letters depicted in such paintings were love letters.

Fig. 6 Jan Krull, *Love letter*, in *Paper World* (1644)

Among the illustrations for Jan Krul (1601-46)'s *Paper World*, published in Amsterdam in 1644, there is an image of a formally gowned young woman, seated in an arranged room and receiving delivery of a love letter from Cupid himself (fig.6). The depiction of a letter in a picture produces a compelling intimation, albeit in a superficially quiet image, of the fierce inner dramas that result when the written word fans the flames of love in the human heart. The letter was established as a new genre painting theme around the end of the 1640s through the beginning of the 1650s, and it was Ter Borch, mentioned in the first section of this paper, who

5 Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, pp. 192-194.

ably expressed a 17th-century version of Petrarchan love. Over the course of his career Ter Borch painted more than sixteen genre paintings on the theme of letters. In his *Woman Writing a Letter*, he presented the most polished form of this theme. A faint smile plays across her lips, and judging from the previously quoted illustration from Krul's book, we know this is a love letter. The comfortable realm of women's lives is personified in this woman concentrating on writing a letter. Undoubtedly Vermeer was at the very least stimulated by Ter Borch's letter paintings.

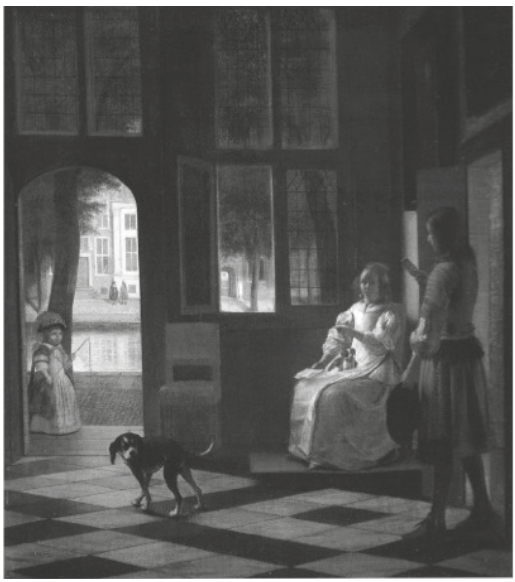


Fig. 7 Pieter de Hooch, *A Woman and the Man with a Letter*, 1660/61, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Pieter de Hooch, who had moved from Delft to Amsterdam around 1660/1661, painted his *A Woman and the Man with a Letter* (fig. 7). A man and a woman can be seen in a reception room facing onto a canal. The woman, who ably manages her home, wears a light blue jacket, an orange skirt, and pearl earrings. She is seated in a corner of the room that is slightly raised from the surrounding

floor plane. While a small dog sits on her lap, she holds a letter in her right hand and gestures with her left hand to a messenger who stands by her side. Does the messenger hold some work-related missive, or is it a letter addressed to her husband? The child also may play the role of hinting that the letter the woman holds may be addressed to her absent husband. The letter is the passageway from the outside world (work) to the inner world (the home), or the reverse. The child acts as the device that naturally draws the viewer's gaze to the far shore of the canal, glimpsed in the sunlight seen through the dim entryway.

De Hooch's novelty can be seen in his depiction of the private messages between husband and wife in the entrance way, that place that marks the spatial connection between the private and the public realm, the interior and the exterior space. With these thoughts in mind, let us look at Vermeer's *The Love Letter* once again. The point here is the bewilderment of the woman who is being handed a letter from an awaited person by her servant. The woman has a slightly surprised expression, and her bewilderment can be read from the turn of her head towards the servant, holding the letter up close to her chest. The maid has not overlooked that unguarded moment when her mistress reveals her inner thoughts. And indeed, we as viewers of the painting catch a stolen glimpse of that expression. And we might sense a bit of excitement at this chance encounter with the secrets of the woman before our eyes. And yet, if that were only the case, would the interest in this painting have been so enduring? Isn't there another reason that this painting leaves a strong impression on its viewers?

Each time I stand in front of this painting in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, I ask myself the question, why is this painting so fascinating? The scene enacted by the two people in the picture is nothing more than a scene encountered in our daily lives. If, for example, a viewer of the painting knew the letter's contents, then their interest would be no more than just glimpsing a fragment of another person's private conversation. What, then, is it about this painting that makes it so appealing?

Could it be that the scene of unexpectedly getting a letter borrows from a well-known, different form, something long

familiar? Such a scene might stir the depths of our memories and recall the Annunciation scene in Christian painting. In Christian iconography, the Annunciation scene depicts the Archangel Gabriel appearing before Mary, as God's messenger. Gabriel conveys God's message, "Greetings, you who are highly favored! The Lord is with you." (Luke 1:28), and thus tells her that she will bear God's son Jesus. Mary is impregnated by God's word. And, of course, this is only possible because the words come from God. This also brings to mind the well-known passage from John 1:1, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

Fig. 8 Simone Martini, *Annunciation*, 1333, Galleria Degli Uffizi, Florence

This concept of Mary being impregnated by hearing God's word was well known from the early Christian era, and is an image that frequently appears in works of art.[6] For example, in the Annunciation by the Italian painter Simone Martini (ca. 1284-1344) (fig. 8), the words spoken by the Archangel Gabriel appear as actual golden words. If we ask why gold, the explanation commonly understood in 14th century Europe was that God's semen is gold, and the French and Latin term for gold, *or* or *aure*, respectively, would have been received by Mary's ear, or *oreille*.[7]

So then we might ask, does a letter brought into an interior setting from the outside originate from this "annunciation" format. A rich array of variations on the Annunciation theme and iconography were made in European painting. In detail, in Vermeer's *The Love Letter*, God's words correspond with the letter brought into the house from outside, and the maid delivering the letter equates with the Archangel. The contents of that letter are transformed from the "love" of God to the affectionate words of a lover. The confusion of Mary receiving God's word is transformed into the unease felt at awaiting a lover's arrival. Thus interpreted *The Love Letter* is nothing other than a secularization of the religious Annunciation theme.

What is not apparent at first glance is the fact that by basing letter paintings in the subject iconography of such a generally well known theme as the Annunciation, the sense of *deja vu*, of known visual clues, gives the entire painting a sense of stability, and thus undoubtedly made it easier for works depicting this new theme to be readily accepted and understood by their viewers.

6 For example, see Atsushi Okada岡田温司, *Shojokaitai: Egakareta kiseki to seikazoku* [The Virgin Birth: Depicted 'Miracles' and the 'Holy Family']『処女懐胎　描かれた「奇跡」と「聖家族」』(Tokyo: Chūkō Shinsho 中公新書, 2007), pp. 32–44.

7 Marc Schell, *Art & Money* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1995, pp. 22-30.

Holland as a Sea Trading Nation

While the letter is the central motif in *The Love Letter*, we must also not forget the maps that appear in this painting. A total of seven extant works by Vermeer include depictions of maps. If we include terrestrial globes and heavenly globes, then it is nine works. This is not an insubstantial number, given that it is one-quarter to one-fifth of his known works. Thoré-Bürger, an art critic who was closely connected to the reevaluation of Vermeer in 19th century France, was one of the first to note the frequent appearance of maps in Vermeer's paintings, going so far as to call it Vermeer's "map mania."[8]

Previously there have been two major schools of thought on the meaning of maps in pictures. First is the idea that maps represent the evanescence of the secular world, the other is the idea that like a national flag, they represent national identity. At first glance these two views appear antithetical. That difference lies in their approach, the first is a moral or allegorical interpretation, while the second is a social history interpretation. And yet, the moral/allegorical view and the social history view of maps depicted in paintings cannot be so clearly differentiated. The two interpretations can coexist in the same painting, given that there can be both ambiguity and depth to the meaning of a painting.[9]

The sea and sailors evoked in a map's expansive view of a wide world are closely connected to the path of love between lovers. Such connections evoked by maps are further compounded in *The Love Letter* by the depiction of two pictures-within-pictures seen in the background. A seascape hangs directly behind the maid. While the painter of the original work is unknown, close examination reveals that the painting depicts two types of clouds. There are the tall white clouds, and the low, gray variety seen right before a deluge. The storm has not yet arrived, but the ship is pushed along by the strong winds.

8 Etienne Joseph Théofile Thoré, 'Van der Meer de Delft', *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XXI, (1866), pp. 297-330. Cf. James A. Welu, 'Vermeer: His Cartographic Sources', *The Art Bulletin* 57 (1975), p. 529.

9 Richard Helgerson, 'Soldiers and Enigmatic Girls: The Politics of Dutch Domestic Realism, 1650–1672', *Representations* 52 (Spring 1997), pp. 49–87, esp. pp. 67–68.

Seascapes like this with their presentiment of an approaching storm conjure thoughts of another book by Krul, his *Minne-spiegel* (Amsterdam, 1640). In that book a traveling lover states that love is like the ocean, and the changeable weather, the unreliability of love. For example, this mood. An illustration titled, "Even when I am far away, you are always in my heart," shows a boat sailing into the waves, and a single sailor standing the bow of the ship with Cupid appearing behind him. The poem that accompanies that illustration speaks of how the sea roughed up by the massive waves that cross the sea lanes is like the loving heart navigating between bouts of hope and despair. The poem then makes the clear equation, love is the ocean, and the lover is the boat.[10]

There are other paintings that depict this metaphor for love. This is the pair of paintings by Gabriel Metsu (1629-67), who was a member of Leiden's St. Luke Guild of painters founded in 1648. A man writes a letter by an open window in one painting, while a woman looks at a letter in the companion painting. This pair of paintings presents an image of two lovers separated by time and distance joined by a letter in an immediate form.

Some sewing lies abandoned on the woman's lap, while the thimble from the end of her finger has fallen to the floor in the right foreground. Clearly this is the instant when the awaited letter has arrived. And the picture-within-a-picture in the background hints at the course that love would take. The stormy seascape, glimpsed by the gap in the curtains held up by the maid -- who also holds yet another letter as she clasps a bucket to her side -- thus indicates that love is as changeable as the weather.

Now let us turn back to Vermeer. A landscape, partially obscured by the draped curtain, can be seen immediately above the seascape in *The Love Letter*. We can imagine that the back view of a traveler walking in that scene might be the object of this woman's love, the person who sent her the letter. And yet, why should we see the lover as the boat, the ocean as love? We must recall the state of affairs in 17th century Holland. In the background of the various props that set

10 Cf. *Tot Lering en vermaak* (Exh. Cat.), (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1976), cat. no. 71.

the stage for love in a painting, whether letters, maps, seascapes or landscapes, lies the concept of the ocean trade to "distant lands" that was the basis for the economic prosperity of Holland at the time.

Then what hints at "distant lands" in Vermeer's *The Love Letter*? The Dutch East India Company, established in 1602 and referred to below by its Dutch acronym, VOC, played a major role in Holland's trade with Asian countries, including Japan, and was known for bringing Asian spices to the European continent. From 1602 to 1675, more than 200,000 Dutch were said to have set sail for Asia aboard VOC ships.[11] The VOC was organized into six divisions, with the largest located in Amsterdam. Delft, one of the divisions, played a major role as the central VOC city. The VOC presence meant employment for many Delft citizens, the elite were given a place for international activities, and the members of the city government were enriched.

It was the 19th-century critics who first indicated that there is a sense of Asian objects in Vermeer's works. However, recent art historical scholarship has not placed much emphasis on this feature. Essentially the modern view is that Vermeer is to be positioned within the context of Dutch art and we are to understand his unique qualities within that paradigm. However, here I must note the presence of all manner of Asian products in several of Vermeer's paintings, from Chinese porcelains to Chinese hats (fig. 9, 10) Japanese kimono (fig. 11) and oriental carpets. The presence of these items tells us of the rapid expansion of the global network and globalization that developed from the geographical discoveries of the 15th century through to 17th century Holland.[12] The letter, maps, seascape, and traveler-in-a-landscape motifs depicted in *The Love Letter* thus contribute to its uniquely redolent period mood.*

11 Klaske Muizelaar and Derek Phillips, *Picturing Men and Women in the Dutch Golden Age: Paintings and People in Historical Perspective* (New Haven/London: Yale Univ. Press, 2003), pp. 11–12.

12 Cf. Akihiro Ozaki, 'Painted Image of Chinese Porcelain—Symbols of Holland as Seen in Still Life Paintings', *Art History* (Bijutsushigaku) 34 (2013), pp. 1-12.

* Author's Note: This article is based on my book Akihiro Ozaki尾崎彰宏, *Renburanto to Ferume-ru no jidai no joseitachi* [Women in the time of Rembrandt and Vermeer]『レンブラントとフェルメールの時代の女性たち』(Tokyo: Shōgakukan 小学館, 2008).

Fig. 9 Johannes Vermeer, *Girl with a Flute*,
The National Gallery, Washington

Fig. 10 European Wearing Chinese Dress
England c.1690, Collection of Jonathan Lourie

Fig. 11 Japanese Rocken, Early 17th century,
The Royal Ontario Museum, Ontario

Ryūsaku Nagaoka 長岡龍作
Tohoku University

BUDDHIST BELIEF AND IMAGERY IN ANCIENT JAPAN

The reception of Buddhism in ancient Japan

Buddhism was transmitted to Japan in the year 552. According to the "Chronicles of Japan", King Sho-mei of Baekje sent gilt bronze statues of the Buddha, Buddhist altar fittings, and a short sutra to Japan because he thought "among all teachings Buddhism is the most excellent. It brings infinite happiness, leading to exquisite Bodhi. Buddha predicted that Buddhism would be transmitted to the east. I want to achieve that." The important keyword in these words is "exquisite Bodhi". This is a Buddhist word that means "enlightenment". The king of Baekje understood that the essence of Buddhist thought is to save confused souls and help them to reach enlightenment.

At the other end of the transmission, Emperor Kinmei received the Buddhist statue and asked his vassals whether or not he should worship it. Soga no Iname insisted that because all other countries had adopted Buddhism, Japan should also adopt the faith. On the other hand, Mononobe Okoshi and Nakatomi no Kamako insisted that if one worshipped the God of other countries, he would invoke the wrath of the God of his own country, and insisted upon the persecution of Buddhists.

Hearing these viewpoints, the Emperor gave the statue of the Buddha to Iname. Iname transformed his house into a temple and enshrined the Buddhist statue there. There followed soon after a plague, which spread across the country and killed many. Okoshi and Kamako insisted that this was the result of not heeding their advice. They cast the Buddhist statue into Naniwa-no-horie

(a river in Osaka) and burned the temple. Soon afterward, the palace was also destroyed in a fire.

The events surrounding the gifts received by Emperor Kinmei show that, depending on how it was treated, a Buddhist statue could bring about disasters in Japan. From the perspective of original Buddhist thought, it would be strange to think of a statue of the Buddha imposing a curse. The discrepancies between this original conception and the interpretation of the disasters of 552 reveal that the role assigned to the Buddha in Japan was similar to the role of God in European Christianity. In Mahayana Buddhism, however, Buddhist statues are made to provide for the happiness of worshippers based on the belief that selfless acts in aid of others are a path to enlightenment.

It was in the fourth month of 587 that the "Chronicles of Japan" records the first instance of a Buddhist statue made for this original purpose of happiness. When the emperor was struck by disease and finally died, Kurabe-no-tasuna (son of Shime Tatsuto) vowed to make a Buddhist statue and a temple dedicated to him. Thus, we can see in "the Chronicles of Japan" evidence in Japan of a gradual awakening to aspects of the original Buddhist thought.

In this lecture, I will explore the motives behind the creation of the oldest existing Japanese statues of the Buddha and explain their characteristics in comparison with examples from the Chinese Northern Wei Dynasty.

The Sakyamuni Buddha and his Attendants enshrined in the Golden Hall

The Sakyamuni Buddha and his Attendants enshrined in the Golden Hall, part of the Hōryūji collection (Fig. 1), is well known as one of the works associated with Prince Shōtoku. The Hōryūji Sakyamuni triad is composed of a gilt-bronze statue of Sakyamuni Buddha (Fig. 2) and his bodhisattva attendants placed before a large mandorla atop a wooden pedestal. The pedestal has two stories in the so-called "Mt. Sumeru" style, where the two attending bodhisattvas stand on lotus bases that extend out of the lower story, while the central Buddha sits on one arising from the upper story.

(1)

(2)

Because there is an inscription on its mandorla, the motives of the patrons who commissioned the creation of this statue are clear. There are two major parts to the inscription. In the first part, the patrons (listed as the "consort(s), prince(s), and retainers") vow to construct a statue of Sakyamuni Buddha "on behalf" of the "Dharma Lord of the Upper Palace" (i.e. Prince Shōtoku) scaled to his size, stating their wish that the power of their vow will cause the donee to ascend to the Pure Land and achieve awakening. In the second part, the patrons express their hopes that, by completing the construction just as they have vowed, they will attain peaceful lives in this world and "reach the other shore" (i.e. nirvana) in their next lives. They vow that in their pursuit of awakening, they will join the Consort Dowager, the Dharma Lord, and his wife, the Kashiwade princess, the "three masters" who have already died, in receiving and promoting the Buddha's teachings.

In other words, this inscription presents two vows, one related to the construction of the statue itself, and the other to the act that follows its completion. The patrons' wish following the completion of the statue was to attain awakening (or to "reach the other shore"). In order to achieve this, they vowed to pursue the Buddha Way following those who passed before them. If this was the case, then we must understand that the statue served a role in fulfilling the goal of the patrons to pursue their awakening.

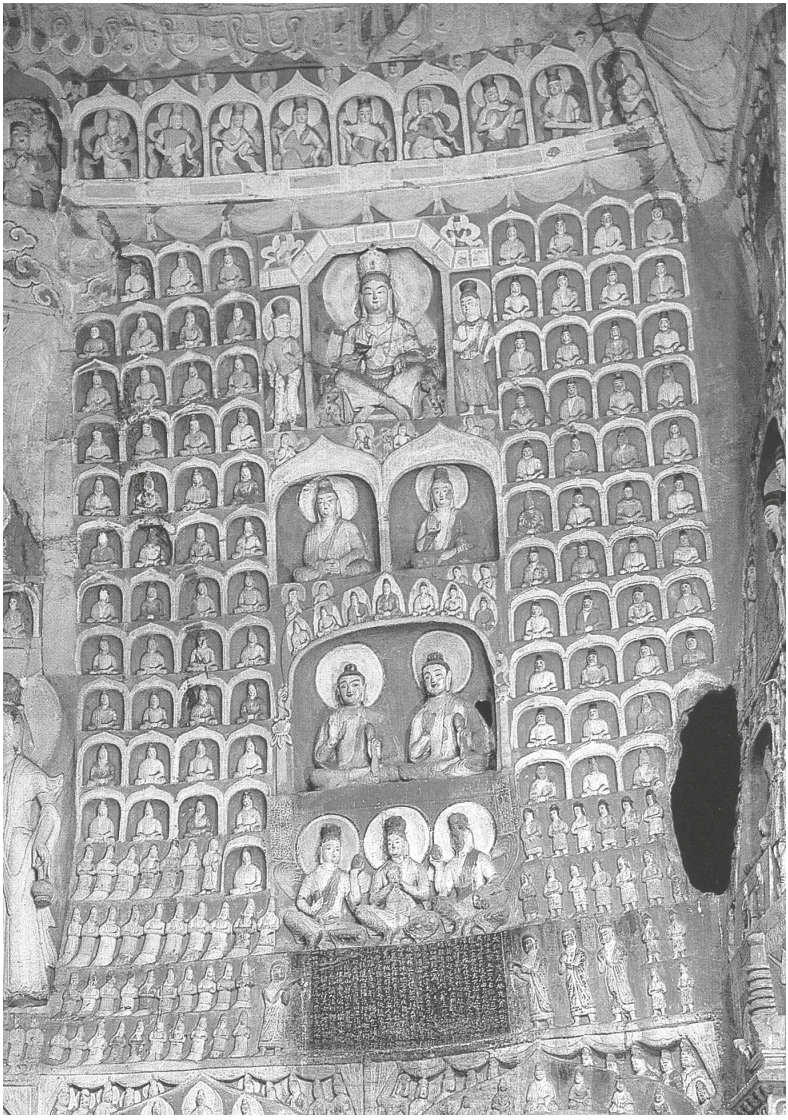
According to the inscription, the patrons constructed this central Buddha to be the same size as the prince. This was partly a reflection of their deep love for the prince, but at the same time, it also demonstrated that they were equating the prince with the Buddha. To understand their intent, it is important to keep in mind that the patrons were themselves aspiring to follow the deceased to awakening. They regarded the prince as their guide to nirvana. To them, their Sakyamuni statue was also the prince who led them. Now, since the patrons wished to follow the "three masters" in their pursuit of awakening, it is unlikely that the image of the prince was the only representation of an alternative figure in the Sakyamuni traid. Although there is no mention of this in the inscription, it is plausible that the images of the Consort Dowager and Kashiwade princess were also projected onto the

two attending bodhisattvas. Thus, the patrons were seeing in the triad the images of the deceased whom they intended to rejoin in their next life. The Sakyamuni triad in Hōryūji had a double connotation as representations of both the Buddhist deities and of the deceased.

This then demonstrates that the statue must have served two roles for the patrons in their pursuit of awakening. One was to create the illusion of meeting Sakyamuni and his attending bodhisattvas in this world, and the other was to provide the opportunity to see in this world the deceased whom the patrons would otherwise only be able to meet after their own deaths, allowing them to fulfill their vow for the next life - to follow the deceased in practicing Buddhism - while they were still in this life. We can then understand that this statue existed to realize the patrons' desire to see firsthand those who are far away, such as the Buddha and the deceased.

The set of reliefs of Yungang Grottos and Representations of Commissioners

The set of reliefs on the upper east wall of Cave 11, Yungang Grottos (Fig. 3), was constructed in 483 (Taihe 7) by a group of fifty-four devotees who formed a devotional society (*yiyi*). It consists of four small niches with Buddhist deities accompanied by an inscription at the bottom. Notably, the inscription mentions the paths that the "souls" (*shen*) of the deceased follow to reach awakening. According to this inscription, a soul wishes to first ascend to the "high realm" (*gaojing*), so that it finds the "peaceful and nurturing light" and is reborn in the "treasure flower" (*baohua*). "Peaceful and nurturing" (*anyang*) refers to the Amitābha Pure Land, so it is clear that "to be reborn in the treasure flower" meant to be reborn into this Pure Land.



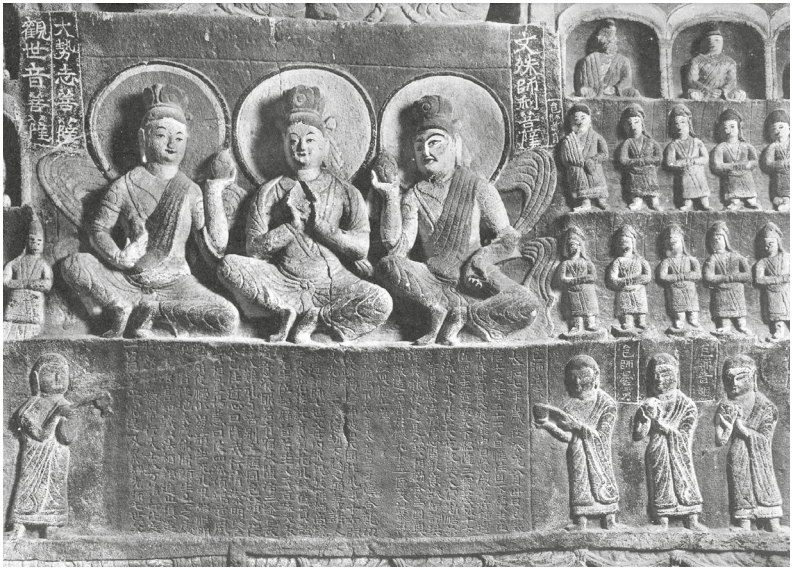
(3)

(4)

The question is: where was the "high realm" to which the soul traveled first?

In this set, the uppermost niche contains a relief of a bodhisattva seated with his legs crossed (Fig. 4). As the inscription accompanying a similar bodhisattva image on the east wall of the lantern at Cave 17, Yungang Grottos (datable to 489, or Taihe 13) (Fig. 5) indicates, this type of bodhisattva was a representation of the Bodhisattva Maitreya.

(5)



(6)

Therefore, we can surmise that the "high realm" in the inscription to Cave 11 also referred to the Tuṣita Heaven where Maitreya resides. Thus, the accompanying inscription is laying out a path for the souls of the deceased in which they first reach the Tuṣita Heaven, then are reborn into the Amitabha Pure Land that will eventually lead them to their ultimate awakening.

There is, however, no representation of the Amitabha Pure Land itself. This indicates that what was important for the commissioners was to represent the Tuṣita Heaven, which was the first stop of the deceased souls where they meet the Bodhisattva Maitreya, and not necessarily their final destination.

The twin Buddhas located inside the niche second from the bottom represent Sakyamuni Buddha and the Abundant Treasures Buddha inside the Treasure Tower. According to the "Emergence of the Treasure Tower" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, the Treasure Tower emerges from the ground on top of Vulture Peak as Sakyamuni preaches the *Lotus Sutra* and ascends to the heavens. Sakyamuni then opens the door to the tower and presents the Abundant Treasures

Buddha to the assembly, while Abundant Treasures shares his seat with Sakyamuni and the two Buddhas sit side by side.

According to the sutra, therefore, the place that the niche with the twin Buddhas represents must be the heavens above Vulture Peak. We can also interpret the forty-four small niches originally located to the left and right side of the niche with the twin buddhas (for a total of eighty-eight niches) to correspond to the "Buddhas of the Ten Directions" that are the divided bodies of Sakyamuni Buddha as expounded in the "Emergence of the Treasure Tower" chapter.

There is a series of lay figures on the left and right sides of the inscription below (Fig. 6). There are sixteen figures to the right side of the inscription and thirty-six to the left presently visible, but there would have been a total of fifty-four figures, including those that occupied the damaged wall to the farthest right. These lay figures correspond to the fifty-four commissioners that were mentioned in the inscription. Figures of monks are represented leading this lay assembly.

Why did the patrons of the reliefs include their own images along with those of the deities they produced?

The content of the vow that appears in the latter half of the inscription is particularly noteworthy in thinking about this point. The patrons vowed that from this point forward, they would pursue the Buddha's Way in this life and would continue to encourage each other even after their death until they attain awakening, converting all sentient beings and delivering them to salvation following the Bodhisattva Way, so that they can finally reach nirvana together.

The "Emergence of the Treasure Tower" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* states that the assembly was lifted up to the heavens by the Buddha's divine abilities and vowed to protect the sutra upon his entering nirvana. In this scene, one role of Sakyamuni, the Abundant Treasures Buddha, and the Buddhas of the Ten Directions is to receive this vow. In the inscription, the patrons vow that they will become bodhisattvas who will strive to save all sentient beings. If this is the case, then the lay figures that appear underneath the twin Buddhas and thousand Buddhas represent the assembly on Vulture Peak that was lifted up to heavens, and their role is to make the vow before these Buddhas.

Also notable is the fact that these lay figures appear in the clothing of the Western Regions or *hufu*. Ishimatsu Hinako states that in Yungang Grottos, figures in *hufu* are often included in the representation of Buddhist tales, such as those of the life of the Buddha or of his former lives. Figures such as that of Vimalakirti on the south wall of the central chamber at Yungang Cave 6 also appear in *hufu*. (Fig. 7) This tells us that figures in *hufu* were representations of lay people in Buddhist ideal worlds.

In Northern Wei, images of worshippers often accompanied an inscription that included the expression "the moment when…" For instance, on the Zhu Qi stele, datable to 512 (Xi'an Beilin Museum, Shaanxi Province) (Fig. 8), there is an inscription next to the figures underneath the central deities stating that the scene depicts "the moment when Mao Shanlie is worshipping the Buddha." These inscriptions indicate that these figures were meant to be the ones worshipping the accompanying images of the Buddha. In other words, they are the proxies of the patrons, performing the worshipping act on their behalf. If that is the case, it is conceivable that in the example from the Yungang Grottos, the patrons similarly included the images of themselves intending them to function as their proxies. The patrons presented themselves in the clothing of those who dwell in the ideal worlds, and by placing these figures in the universe expounded in the *Lotus Sutra*, they were designating these figures to function as their surrogates to perform the act of vowing to the Buddha. In this example, therefore, the figures are in the presence of the Buddha in place of men.

(8)

The absence of representations of patrons in Japanese Buddhist imagery

I believe, this, too, was an expectation held by the patrons when they created their own images. The term *chishiki* means "friends or group of practitioners." This idea of searching for awakening with fellow practitioners is in accord with the inscription on the "Seventh Year of Taihe" niche at Yungang Grottos, where the patrons vowed to progress in friendship in their pursuit of awakening. The inscription that accompanies an image, both in Japan and China, was an enunciation of the solidarity of the patrons and of their acts after the completion of the image.

However, the examples in Japan differ significantly from those in China because in the former the patrons did not present themselves in the constructed image. In ancient Japanese Buddhist works, no example has been found that includes an image of the patrons. This, first of all, indicates the lack of the concept of using images as proxies of the patrons that will "meet" the Buddha. The subject that performed the worshipping act and met the Buddha could only have been a living human being and an image could not have substituted. Their worshipping act was aimed at the Buddha, not their society, and it was understood to be something that must actually be performed at that moment.

This tells us that these patrons may have genuinely wished to attain awakening. The attainment of awakening by the patrons themselves was the ultimate goal and the creation of an image was what guided them. This illustrates the rudimentary nature of the Buddhist devotees' mindset in ancient Japan, at its incipient period of Buddhism.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL THOUGHT

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FILLING THE GAPS: JAPAN IN EARLY MODERN KNOWLEDGE

In this article, I will try to show how the Republic of Letters, the self-styled early modern community of the learned, imagined Japan and what lay to its North. "Republic of Letters" is an expression that one can already find in a letter by Francesco Barbaro to Poggio Bracciolini of the beginning of the fifteenth century. Here, I will focus on the period 1665–1750, by which time the Republic had become an imagined community spreading all over the world with its core in Europe. The beginning of our timeframe corresponds to the replacement of Latin by French as the quasi-official language of the community and to the publication of the first scholarly journals which achieved a pivotal role in shaping the networks of knowledge on the European continent.[1]

Part of this article is based on my analysis of the whole text of a number of important French-written journals. I conducted a form of meta-search for the occurrences of the word 'Japan' in

1 For a more comprehensive outlook at the development of scholarly journals within the framework of the rise of periodicals, see Frédéric Barbier, *Histoire du livre* (Paris, 2000), X: 4. Jean Sgaar, ed., *Dictionnaire des journaux 1600-1789* (Paris, 1991), which remains a fundamental guide to the multifaceted landscape of gazettes and journals in the *Ancien Régime*'s France and in Holland. Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven-London, 1995), 54–114, reconstructs the way scholarly journals rose from the social context of the Republic of Letters and how they changed it. Another classic that deserves citation is Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (2001) where the importance of the 'erudite journals' is remembered throughout the text, beginning from the preface (vi).

every page of a restricted pool of French-written journals. The content of those publications was composed mainly of reviews of books by scholars from all over Europe. However, the work of reviewing the new titles appearing on the library market was not the only function the journals had. Most of them also hosted short essays and original contributions, as well as letters from scholars, which often generated lively debates about the main issues at the core of the intellectual curiosity of those times.

Another main source I use in this article is the manuscript by Engelbert Kaempfer entitled *Heutiges Japan*. Kaempfer was also the author of a work on medicine and natural history covering all Asia and entitled *Amoenitatum exoticarum* (1712). A German physician and a great traveler, he had been resident physician of the Dutch East India Company in Japan. What interests us here is how Kaempfer acted as a middle figure between worlds, as a part-time savant on mission at the farthest corner of the world to collect materials and information for the community of the learned. Kaempfer's account of Japan remained the fundamental work on the country for decades. It entered the discourse of the Republic of Letters in 1727, thanks to Sir Hans Sloane. The famous secretary of the Royal Society had purchased Kaempfer's manuscript and commissioned its translation to his Swiss secretary, Johann Gaspar Scheuchzer.[2]

Finally, I will show how the early modern scholars participated in the mapping of Japan and I will reflect how the symbolic meaning of cartography interacted with the developing imagination of the Far East. Besides using texts inside maps, I will interpret maps as texts and I will try to show how the representation of space was modified and the world looked at from different angles and perspectives as the

2 Johann Gaspar Scheuchzer, F.R.S., 1702-1729 in: G. R. de Beer, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London,* Vol. 6, No. 1 (Dec., 1948), pp. 56-66. Son of Johann Jakob Scheuchzer (1672–1733) author of *Beschreibung der Naturgeschichte des Schweitzerlandes* (3 vols., Zürich, 1706–1708), *Itinera alpina tria* (London, 1708) whose plates were financed, among others, by Isaak Newton and Hans Sloane, and *Museum Diluviarum* (1716) and dedicated to Hansa Sloane.

direct experience of its shape was translated into a unifying and evolving picture.

The aim of this article is not only to show how the Republic of Letters imagined Japan, but also to explore the special place the community afforded to the land and to its culture, nature and history inside the framework of its comprehensive representation of the world. By understanding the role of Japan, as one of the most elusive objects of knowledge for the savants, in defining and completing the geographic and conceptual map of a new wider world, we will cast light on the mechanism of discovery and systematisation in early modern knowledge.

Japan as an object of curiosity

A series of interconnected accounts on Japan have been published in our timeframe. The scholarly journals and numerous letters exchanged inside the Republic of Letters mention them and show how knowledge about Japan was coveted inside the Republic. Books on Japan often received interested reviews in the journals. Noticeable examples range from *Histoire de l'église du Japon par M. l'abbé de T*,[3] to Engelbert Kaempfer's groundbreaking account[4] and, later on, Pierre François Xavier De Charlevoix's

3 The author's real name is Jean Crasset; he was a Jesuit priest; see Antoine Alexandre Barbier, *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages anomymes et pseudonyms*, 2nd ed. (Paris 1823). The work is in large part based on François Solier, *Histoire Ecclesiastique des Isles & Royaumes de Japon* (Paris, 1627). According to Goran Proot and Johan Verberckmoes, 'Japonica in the Jesuit Drama of the Southern Netherlands', *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 5 (December 2002), 27–47; Solier's was often used as a source in the Jesuit theatre.

4 For example, *Bibliothèque angloise ou Histoire litteraire de la Grande-Bretagne*, 1727, 15, 1 passim contains the review of Kaempfer's famous English translation by Johann Caspar Scheuchzer. The erratum to the review states that Pierre Desmaiseaux, who was supposed to translate Scheuchzer's English version into French, had to decline for health reasons, and two other non-specified persons took his place. Desmaiseaux, famous for his editing and translations of freethinkers such as Charles de Saint-Everemond, Pierre Bayle, and John Toland, was also one of the reviewers of both *Bibliothèque raisonnee des ouvrages de l'Europe* (1728–53) and the *Bibliothèque*

Histoire et description générale du Japon.[5] Statistically speaking, Kaempfer's—its long-awaited French translation—and Charlevoix's alone are responsible for the peak around 1730–40 in Figure 1. Even before the works had been published, a series of announcements appeared on the pages of *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, *Journal de Sçavans*, and *Mémoires de Trévoux*.

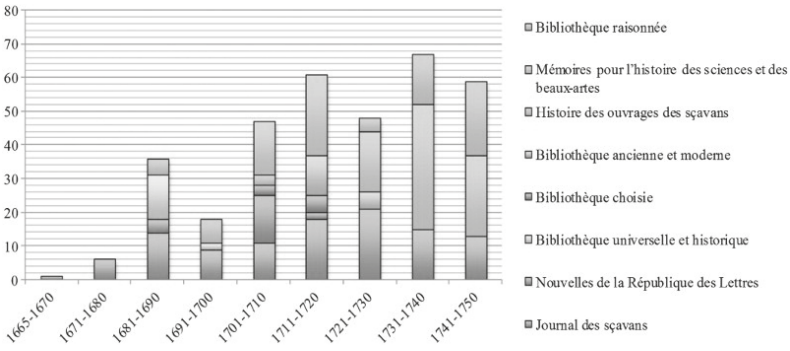

Fig. 1

After 1750, Kaempfer's book was the most frequently quoted book in the articles about Japan in Diderot's and Dalambert's *Encyclopédie*.[6] Moreover, by means of the notions conveyed by Kaempfer, Japan became an example that could be adduced when reviewing, criticising, or writing about scientific issues in general. Kaempfer became a turning point in a long process of incorporation that had already started during the second half

britannique (1733–47). See also: *Histoire Naturelle, Civile et Ecclesiastique de l'Empire du Japon* (The Hague, 1729), the first French translation of Engelbert Kaempfer's work, in *Journal des sçavans* June 1731, 351 passim; July 1731, 399 passim; August 1731, 463 passim, and *Mémoires de Trévoux*, August 1731, 1336 passim; September 1731, 1544 passim; October 1731, 1715 passim; November 1731, 1845 passim; December 1731, 2042 passim.

5 Charlevoix, a Jesuit priest, missionary in North America, and later an editor of *Mémoires de Trevoux*, was critical of Kaempfer's position on many points, such as his agreement with Japan's seclusionist policy.

6 References to Kaempfer continue to emerge throughout the eighteenth century and we can find them still in the nineteenth century in Senancourt's *Obermann*.

of the seventeenth century, as evident, for example, in some articles published in *Philosophical transactions*, in which Japan became part of a universal scientific imagination rather than just appearing as an exotic place.[7]

Scheuchzer wrote a lengthy introduction to his translation of Kaempfer's manuscript entitled *History of Japan*. There, one can see the themes that attracted his curiosity and, presumably, that of his readers. It begs attention that the topic that occupies the most pages in the introduction's initial summary is the question of Japan's position in relation to Ezo (today's Hokkaidō and nearby islands and lands) and their insularity, as well as their more general position in the North Pacific area. In such context, Japan represents a point of passage between the known world and the *terra incognita* that lay further afield.

Scheuchzer's introduction to *History of Japan* is not an isolated case. Interest towards northeast cartography was a central issue for many relevant books during all the period that we are analyzing. Just to make one example, François Caron, who had been the Dutch envoy to Japan before changing flags and helping Colbert in the establishment of the French Company of the East Indies, wrote a fortunate account of his Japanese experience. The original was published in Dutch in 1636, but the 1663 German translation contains a map of Japan in which Ezo is depicted as linked to both Honshū and Kamchatka (Fig. 2). The map attracted a great deal of attention from the Republic of Letters which discussed it for the following fifty years. Later on, beginning at the start of the eighteenth century, a new series of explorations to the North revived the genre of travel narratives addressing the geographical issue from a different perspective. Take, for example, *Recueilles des Voyage au Nord contenant divers Mémoires très utiles au commerce et à la Navigation*.[8]

7 For example, in an article on the magnetic variation of the compass, published in *Philosophical Transactions* XIII (1683), Edmond Halley had used the observations of travelers around the world, Japan included, to develop a theory of world magnetism (212, 218).

8 Frédéric Bernard (ed.), *Recueilles des Voyage au Nord contenant divers*

The *terra incognita* that lay north of China and Japan became a new frontier for scholars driven by an unstoppable curiosity (Fig. 3).

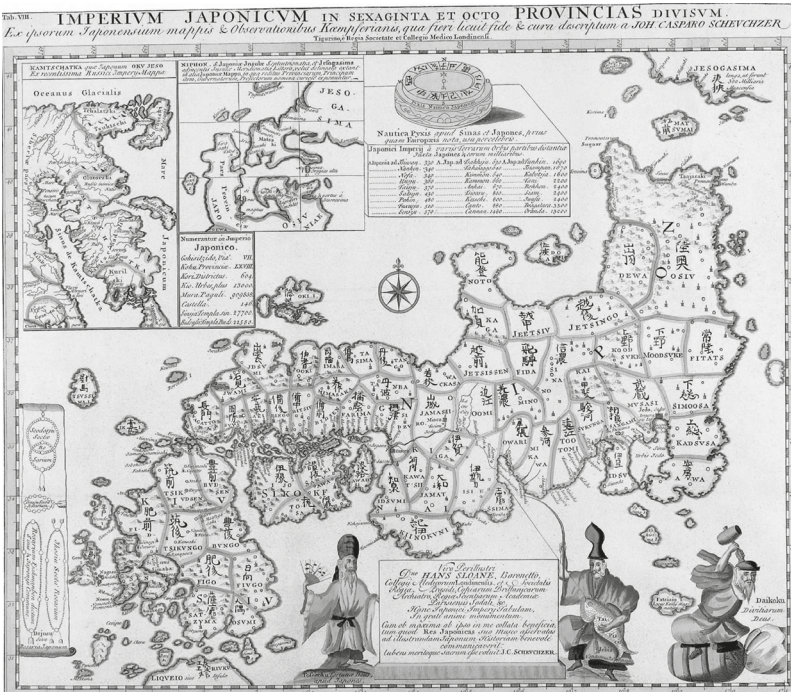

Fig. 2

Mémoires très utiles au commerce et à la Navigation, (Amsterdam, 1715–18). *Recueilles* also contains the 'Essai d'instruction pour voyager utilement' that teaches prospective travelers how to collect data in a uniform way for the progress of science. The essay shows the methodisation of the form of 'curiosity' that developed during the early modern period and how it was applied to geography and voyage. One could consider such methodisation as a case of the first efforts that led to what Marie-Noëlle Bourguet called the 'construction savante du monde [the scholarly construction of the educated people of the world]' (*Écriture du voyage et construction savante du monde. Le carnet d'Italie d'Alexander von Humboldt*, (Berlin, 2004), 13–15).

Fig. 3

If we want better to understand the functioning of this interest, which we have seen at work in specific cases, we can turn to the journals published in the decades around the appearance of *History of Japan*. We find out then that geography is the aspect of Japan that appears most often in the journals of the Republic of Letters (Figs. 4-5). In the majority of cases, the problem of the shape of Northern Japan and its relation to North-East Asia is at the core of that geographical interest.[9] We can find an early occurrence of

9 The issue was going to be one of the longest debated problems in geography, and according to John A. Harrison, it was resolved completely only in the middle of nineteenth century: 'With the publications of von Siebold in the middle of the nineteenth century, Yezo was no longer a mystery. Reliable maps and charts of Hokkaidō, Saghalien, and the Kuriles could be had. There ended one of the longest searches in the history of exploration, a search remarkable for the paucity of information produced in relation to the number of explorations made, and for the fact that the reliable foundations laid by the earliest navigators were completely ignored in favour of information that could easily have been proven to have been in error had anyone taken the trouble to check', 'Notes on the Discovery of Yezo', in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, XL, 3 (September 1950), 266. On the issue of the passage connecting the north and south seas

the Ezo issue in *Philosophical Transactions* (Jan. 1674, 9), which contains an English abridgement of a text by Dutch cartographer Dirck Rembrandtsz van Nierop (197) on the explorations in the Northeastern Pacific. Even before that, the *Journal des sçavans*' reviewer of *Relation du naufrage d'un vaisseau holandois sur la Coste de l'isle de Quelpaerts*, the 1670 translation of Hendrik Hamel's account of his shipwreck on Jeoson Korea's shores, goes astray in the middle of his article and starts wondering about the possibility that the Korean Peninsula and Kamchatka might be connected to Ezo (1671, II, 618). Well after Kaempfer's publication, as late as 1749, the Northwest Passage question is still a matter of discussion, as attested by the success of Henry Ellis' *Voyage de la baye de Hudson, fait en 1746 & 1747, pour la découverte du passage de Nord-Ouest* (Paris, 1749). The book received interested reviews in *Mémoires de Trévoux* (Sep 1749, 1751–87) and *Bibliothèque raisonnée* (January–March 1749, 3–20). Both reviews treat Japan as one of the main parts of the geographical areas they are trying to connect together into a single, united geographic representation.

see: Lucie Lagarde, 'Le Passage du Nord-Ouest et la Mer de l'Ouest dans la Cartographie française du 18e Siècle, Contribution à l'étude de l'œuvre des Delisle et Bauche', in *Imago Mundi*, 41 (1989), 19–43.

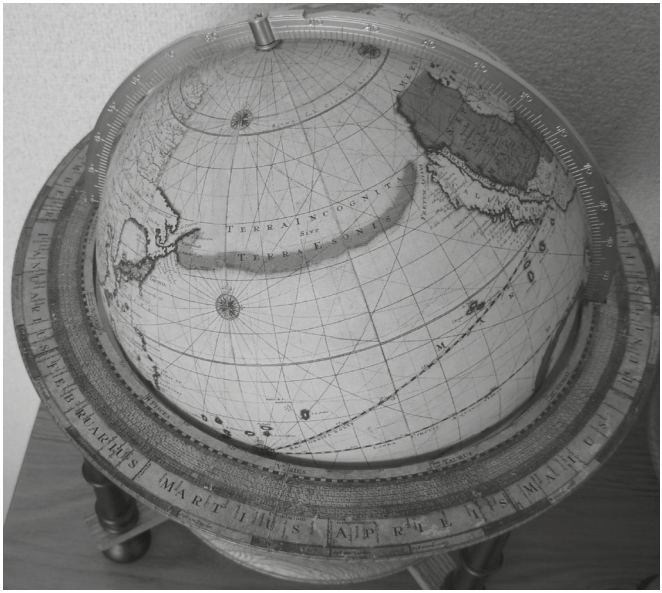
TERRA INCOGNITA
sive
TERRA AUSTRALIS
MARTIUS
APRILIS

Fig. 4


AMERICA
MAR DEL ZUR
MARE PACIFICUM
MAR DEL NORT
MARE CARAIBUM

Fig. 5

The article on Kamchatka in *Encyclopédie* (*Jaucourt*) confirms the strong cultural continuity between the geographical discourse on Japan and the North Pacific shores.[10] The article, which cites Kaempfer and the 1730s Russian exploration as its main sources, is an abridgement of a decades-long discussion that had been reported in journals, books, and epistolary exchanges. One could argue that the dynamics of such geographic interest was linked to the increasing competition to open new markets and, later on, to the presence of new players on the scene of transcontinental commerce. These players included such peoples as the Russians and the Scandinavians, who were searching for new ways to reach Northeast Asia and the American continent. Nevertheless such interest played a specific role inside the scholarly practices of the Republic of Letters. The accounts of voyages in the lands at the border of the East Asian countries were used by geographers and historians, as well as by the reviewers of the scholarly journals, to integrate their ethno-geographic imagination. By mixing together information from different sources, they created their own representation of the world not in an altogether different manner from the maps drawn by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cartographers.

Let's take the example of 'Troisième lettre du S. de Lille à M Cassini sur la question que l'on peut faire si le Japon est une île', which appeared in *Journal des sçavans* (1700, 236 passim) and was later republished by the Abbé Prévost. The author, Claude Delisle, was one of the most important cartographers during the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century.[11] The same holds true for Gian Domenico Cassini director of the Paris Observatory. Maps, such as those drawn by Delisle, were advertised by printers as useful tools for the development of commerce. Their drawing was a matter of

10 Kamchatka' [Géographie], Louis de Jaucourt, *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 9:110.

11 For Claude Delisle's articles on *Journal des sçavans*, see Lagarde, 'Le Passage du Nord-Ouest et la Mer de l'Ouest dans la Cartographie française du 18e Siècle', 26. See also the 'Extraits de diverses Lettres', in *Histoire des ouvrages des sçavans*, June 1700, 276.

national concern for the funding governments. They could also, however, assume a specific significance within the context of the Republic of Letters. They were the answer to the interest about the world that the Republic of Letters fostered as an object of comprehensive and increasingly methodical knowledge. For the scholarly community that gathered around the journals, the honing of cartographic techniques through the eighteenth century had an importance exceeding the actual use one could make of the factual knowledge of Japan's borders and of the attitude and behaviour of Ezo's inhabitants. In *Mémoires de Trévoux* of July 1737, there was an article entitled 'Disseratation sur la célebre terre de Kamtschatka et sur celle de Yeço: sur l'étendue de la domination Moscovite & Chinoise: & sur la communication ou non communication des continents de l'Asie & de l'Amérique: & le passage dans les Mers de l'Orient par les Mers du Nord. Par le P. Castel J'. In it, the author stated:

> And that is why I consider the passage for which they search in order to go trading in Japan, China, or America, similar to the great work of the Philosophers. This great work is unachievable, but, searching for it, Chemistry and Physics are continuously developing. Searching for the aforementioned passage, Geography has developed very much, and navigation also, if you want. But I doubt that whichever form of Trade will ever be able to take advantage of it (1171).[12]

12 "Voilà pourquoi je regarde le passage qu'on cherche au nord pour aller commercer au Japon, à la Chine, ou en Amérique, à peu près comme le grand œuvre des Philosophes. Ce grand œuvre est infaisable, mais en le cherchant, la Chymie et la Physique se perfectionnent toujours. En cherchant le passage en question, la Géographie s'est beaucoup perfectionnée, & la navigation aussi si l'on veut. Mais je doute qu'aucune sorte de Commerce puisse jamais s'en prévaloir". In his work, Castel chastises the geographers for their wild assumptions about Hokkaidō's and Kamchatka's position and form. More than thirty years later, the work was still controversial. In 1770, it was reprinted inside a *mélange* of geographical writings entitled *Continuation de l'Histoire Général des Voyages*, by Alexandre Deleyre. Deleyre had a poor opinion of Castel's work as that of someone who wants to create a fictional world of his own. The Parisian monthly *Suite de la Clef* (February 1771, 91–92) quoted Deleyre at length and expressed a similar opinion regarding the Jesuit's work.

Connecting the map, connecting the world, connecting knowledge

Inside the framework of such theoretical interest for Ezo's position as the unknown part of one of the remaining unknown areas of the world, Japan found a specific position and signification that completed and stood alongside other representations of it that the Republic of Letters had generated. Early modern scholars tended to perceive Japan as the furthest place describable. Inside such rhetoric, accounting for Japan meant to complete the theoretical mapping of the world, which normally started in or had at its center Europe. Expressions such as "From Peru to Japan" or "From the British shores to Japan" recur over all our period in works by some of the greatest authors, such as Leibniz and Mandeville, as well as in an array of obscure contributors to the scholarly journals. At the same time, the ethno-geographic enquiry that represented Japan as a part of the wider North Pacific problem made of Japan one of the points from which one could connect continents in a united land mass or, at least, in a unified geographical representation of the world.

Such an image had important consequences for the learned representation of Japan and North Pacific. For some scholars, knowing the shape of the northeast did not concern only geography. It implied, for example, the possibility to give an explanation of the biblical account in a new, newly discovered world. According to Urs App, Annius of Viterbo (1432–1502) was the first to advance the idea of an original religion and culture that from Egypt and the fertile crescent spread all over Europe and Asia. Notoriously, Athanasius Kircher proposed a similar scheme in order to reduce the newly discovered civilizations to a common biblical origin.[13] A

13 Athanasius Kircher, *Arca Noë*, Waesberg, Joannem Joanssonium-Waesberge 1675; Idem, *Turris Babel, Sive Archontologia Qua Primo Priscorum post diluvium hominum vita, mores rerumque gestarum magnitudo, Secundo Turris fabrica civitatumque exstructio, confusio linguarum, & inde gentium transmigrationis, cum principalium inde enatorum idiomatum historia, multiplici eruditione describuntur & explicantur*. Amsterdam, Joannem Janssonium-Waesberge 1679. Urs App pointed out that Kircher's theory on

monogenetic, diffusionist hypothesis was assumed by Kaempfer to explain the origin of the Japanese people. Kaempfer hypothesised a very specific path along which the Japanese had supposedly traveled from the foundations of the tower of Babel to the shores of Japan. The last leg of their peregrination, Kaempfer suggested, might have brought them from Korea to their current abode. Though, he continued, he would have welcomed suggestions concerning a better possible path going through Tartary and Ezo. He stated that such passage, if it existed, could have also been the one through which America had been populated.[14]

Savants from the other side of the Pacific crossed their data with those coming from Kaempfer and other scholars who had worked in Asia in order to complete the map of knowledge. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Jesuit Joseph-François Lafitau (1681-1746), forefather of the modern ethnography, found in the land of the Hurons a plant which he compared to a drawing of a specimen of ginseng found in Tartary which his religious brother Jartoux had published in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* and found them to be identical. Lafitau then criticised Kaempfer's *Amoenitatum exoticarum* (1712) for having confused the continental ginseng with the Japanese one, which, in his mind, belonged to a different kind of plants. The discovery of the same plant in specific areas of both shores of the Northern Pacific and not in other was certainly important for the commerce of exotic goods, the demand of which was rising during those years. Though, for the Republic of Letters, and for Lafiteau as a scholarly writer, it could also be a possible evidence concerning the communication of the two continents and the cultural relationships of their inhabitants.[15]

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an original Panasiatic religion which had originated in Egypt can be traced back to previous works, up to Annius from Viterbo: Urs App, *The Cult of Emptiness. The Western Discovery of Buddhist Thought and the Invention of Oriental Philosophy*, Rorschach/Kyoto, University Media 2011, pp. 111-passim.

14 Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, p. 91.

15 Moreover, from the etymology of the word *ginseng*, equivalent in Chinese and in the Hurons' language, Lafitau deduces that some form of communication of ideas took place between the two people and considers

In 1728 Vitus Bering (1681–1741) led his first expedition in search for the northeastern passage. The mission, although fruitful, did not prove beyond a doubt the separation of the two continents.[16] Even when, at the halfway point of the eighteenth century, the separation became common knowledge in the Republic of Letters, the blank spot was reduced but did not fade away completely (Fig. 6).[17] The insularity of Ezo remained a matter of discussion, and the exact borders of what today we consider as Japan were fixed only with the unfortunate voyage of Jean-Fraçois de La Pérouse (1741-1788), well outside the limits of our timeframe.

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this a proof of the existence of a northern passage linking Asia and America. Joseph-François Lafitau, *Mémoire présenté à son altesse royale Mgr. le duc d'Orléans, régent de France, concernant la précieuse plante du gin-seng de Tartarie, découverte en Amérique per le Père Joseph-François Lafitau de la Compagnie de Jésus, missionnaire du Sault St. Louis*, Paris, chez Joseph Monge 1718, pp. 19, 39–41.

16 The second expedition had at its back Ivan Kirilov, minister of the Tsar and learned geographer. In laying down the aims of the mission, he signaled the interest in finding a way from Kamchatka to Japan and mapping Ezo. Mikhail Spiridonovich Gvozdev (1700-04 — after 1759) was a Russian military geodesist and a commander of the expedition to northern Alaska in 1732, when the Alaskan shore was for the first time sighted by Russians. In 1732, together with the participants of the first Kamchatka expedition navigators Ivan Fedorov and K. Moshkov, Gvozdev on the Sviatoi Gavriil (St. Gabriel) sailed to Dezhnev Cape, the easternmost point of Asia. From there, after having replenished its water supply on 5 August, the Sviatoi Gavriil sailed east and soon came near the American mainland at Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska. They charted the northwestern coast of Alaska and mapped their route. By doing this, Fyodorov and Gvozdev completed the discovery of the Bering Strait, once started by Dezhnyov and Fedot Popov and continued by Bering. Subsequently in 1741-42 Gvozdev participated in an expedition led by Alexey Shelting, and mapped most of the western and southern shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island.

17 Redern, Sigismund Ehrenreich de, "Hemisphere septentrional dresse en 1754 par Mr. le comte de Redern, curateur de l'Academie des sciences et belles lettres pour l'éclaircissement de ses considerations sur le globe execute par ordre de l'Academie," Berlin 1755. In this map, Sachalin is recorded under its contemporary name and Hokkaidō (Iesogashima on the map) is represented as an island.

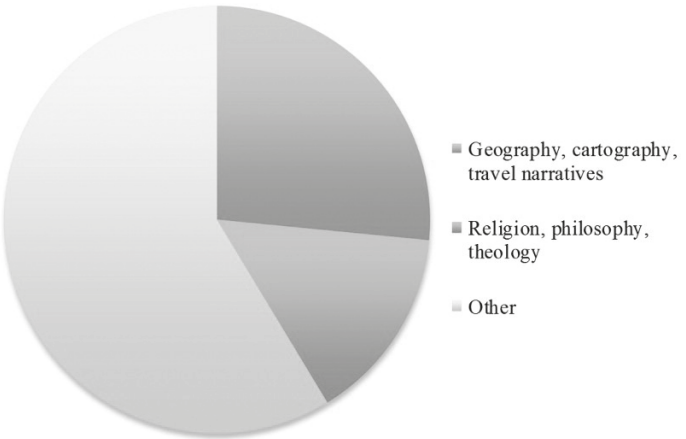
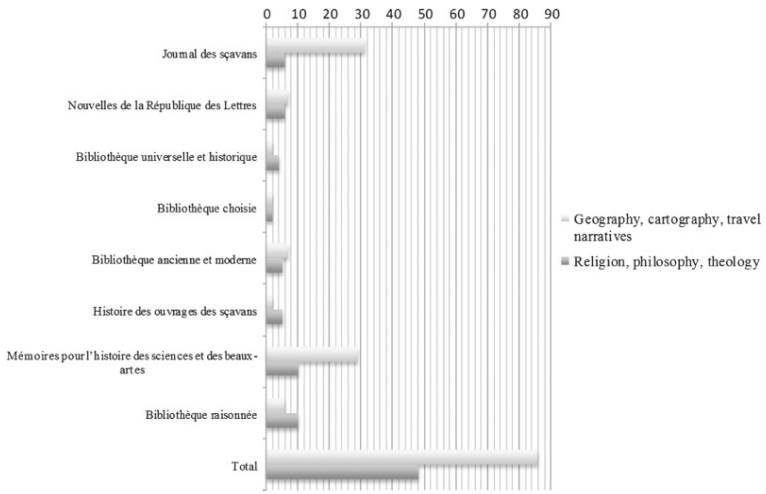

Geography, cartography, travel narratives
Religion, philosophy, theology
Other

Fig. 6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Journal des sçavans
Nouvelles de la République des Lettres
Bibliothèque universelle et historique
Bibliothèque choisie
Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne
Histoire des ouvrages des sçavans
Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences et des beaux-artes
Bibliothèque raisonnée
Total
Geography, cartography, travel narratives
Religion, philosophy, theology

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Conclusions

Inside the Republic of Letter's efforts to complete the knowledge of a wider and relatively new world, Japan appears as one of the last, rather undefined, outposts before a blank area on the map of knowledge. We see that the savants afforded a specific role to the geography of Japan and that new discoveries in the field were relevant for a more general reorganization of the world of knowledge that was taking place. While the Republic shared many concerns with other actors of early modern society, the use of the new knowledge on Japan had also a specific significance for the community of the learned. Finding a passage between land masses could also foster new ways of imagining continuity in the history of humankind, and a possible updated take on already existing systems of knowledge such as the biblical account. Filling the gap between Japan and California meant finding a coherent place for the most distant realities and integrating them into one developing representation of the world.

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JAPAN AS AN OBJECT OF STUDY: HISTORICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT[1]

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate Japan as an object of study in especially the United Kingdom. Its more specific aim is to elucidate the forces at work in making Japan an object of study as a territorially bounded state entity, with its own language as well as cultural, political and economic systems. The historical and institutional context for the emergence of Japan as an object of study is our particular focus.

The chapter is divided into three sections. The first examines the specificities of how Japan has become an object of study in Britain and more widely in the West. The second turns to the institutionalization and expansion of Japanese studies, paying attention to the United Kingdom (particularly England). The third concludes by making the case to move away from national to "network studies" of Japan, drawing together the diverse talents available to conduct research on Japan due to the globalization of higher education and of Japanese studies as an area of focus in Britain and the wider West as well as in Japan itself.

1 I would like to gratefully acknowledge the permission of the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo to publish a shorter, revised and updated version of the following article: Glenn D. Hook, 'The Significance of Conducting Research on Japan and Possible Research Directions for the Future', *Institute of Social Science Series* (University of Tokyo) 29 (2008), pp. 47-61.

Japan as object of study: historical context

The question of why Japan is an object of study may appear at first glance to be no more than a simple question of individual scholarly motivation. More fundamentally, however, Japan as an object of study is a complex question of the historical contingency of both Japan and the specialist of Japan in the context of international and domestic structures, agencies and norms (Hook *et al*. 2012). Not only is the past intricately tied to the future of Japanese studies, but the significance of conducting research on a specific area of the world inscribed by the boundaries of the sovereign territorial state is simultaneously intertwined with the rise and fall of powers in the international system and the impact this process exerts domestically in other countries.

When viewed in the historical context of the late nineteenth century, "Japan" appears in the sights of the Western gunboats, a nation in need of "civilizing" and "modernizing," whether by military, political or business leaders from the technologically and industrially advanced countries of Europe and the United States, or by missionaries set on spreading the word of God amongst the heathens. The motivation to study Japan as object thus can be said to have emerged in the historical context of the West's imperial expansion to the East, with some of the first modern scholars of this distant nation of the "Far East" combining a role as envoy of empire and specialist of Japan, as with the diplomat-scholars, Ernest Mason Satow and Basil Hall Chamberlain. As an object of study, then, Japan emerged as part of the West's penetration of East Asia, that is, in the structural context of a transition in the international system based on the role agents of the state and others played at the time, informed by norms supporting the West's imperial expansion to the "Far East".

War, as well as the wider goal of building an empire, has served as a motivation for the study of Japan, as was the case with research into other areas of the world brought to scholarly attention by the needs of generals in the field as well as businessmen in the market leading up to and during World War II. In the case of the United States and Britain, for instance, many

of the early postwar generation of specialists who studied Japan as object were trained as part of the war effort against Japan. For instance, the study of Japan received a major boost when future scholars of the war-time enemy state such as Ronald Dore learned Japanese at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London in order to serve the British military in the pursuit of state goals. Japan became an object of study at the time in order to assist the state's effort to win the war. This war-time focus on Japan arose out of a concern for the British national interest, national survival, but this intertwining of the British national interest and the study of Japan is not limited to the pre-war period, but has influenced scholarly interest in the postwar era, too.

Institutionalization and expansion of Japanese Studies

Thus, whereas research on Japan obviously can be based on individual motivation, the *institutionalized* study of Japan, whether taking place in universities, research centres or think tanks, is intimately tied to the strategic, diplomatic and commercial interest of the national and other funders designating "Japan" as an object of enough significance to warrant study. Clearly, the position and role of Japan in the international system has been a key determinant of why Japan is an object of study in the United States, Britain and the wider West.

In the postwar era, the integration of Japan into the US-led alliance against communism at the global level provided a strong motivation for funding the study of Japan at the domestic level, although this trend appears much stronger in the United States than in the United Kingdom. In the United States, budgets for Japanese studies and area studies more generally were largely decided in the context of the East-West conflict and the ebb and flow of Cold War confrontation, creating opportunities for the birth of a new generation of area specialists (Chomsky 1977; Simpson 1998). In the case of the United Kingdom, the economic rise of Japan, rather than the

broader aims of the struggle against communism, stimulated the institutionalization of research on Japan.

It is not necessary to be a specialist of the former Soviet Union to realize that, without the presence of the perceived communist threat, the amount of funds and hence the number of specialists studying the designated Cold War enemy is hardly as plentiful in the post-Cold War days of today as in the days when Russia and other parts of the Soviet empire were seen as a much greater national threat than today (Engerman 2009). Nor is it necessary to be a specialist of Japan to see how the motivation for Japanese corporations to fund Japanese studies in the United States, the United Kingdom and elsewhere was linked to the rise of Japan as a major economic and exporting power as well as to the emergence of trade conflicts between Japan and the export markets of necessity for Japanese business. Benefactions to top ranked universities in the industrially advanced states went ahead precisely as Japan was emerging as an economic big power. While personal benefactions may have different motivations, the political and economic interests of business enterprises as well as of states have been crucially at stake in institutionalizing the study of Japan, as the geo-strategic and economic interest of a country as an area of importance is intimately linked to the funding of that geographic area as an object of study.

The case of the United Kingdom

The United Kingdom is illustrative of the way the government's funding for the study of Japan has been motivated by concerns to serve the national interest and to promote relevance, practicality and the contemporary as the object of study. The study of Japan has witnessed three peak waves of institutionalization following the initial focus on the study of language and literature following the government-commissioned Scarborough report of 1945, demonstrating how policy makers have been at the heart of determining the direction of funding for Japanese studies from the early

postwar years. The first started with the government's 1961 "Hayter Report" on the teaching of Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies (Hayter 1961). The motivation for the report, which drew on American experience of area studies "centres," was to ensure that Japan as object was not viewed simply through the limited prism of "ancient Japan" or simply from the perspectives of the humanities; it instead sought to ensure that universities were able to play a vital role in providing human resources of use to the state and business in the context of Japan as a re-emerging power. In short, rather than scholars with a knowledge of the intricacies of Japanese poetry, the intrigues of the Heian court, or the calligraphy of the Sesonoji School, the Hayter report focused on the study of contemporary Japan in order to acquire the skills necessary for diplomacy and commerce.

The Hayter report was issued just before the articles published in the *Economist*, which called on its readers to "Consider Japan" (1 September 1962; 8 September 1962), suggesting how at the beginning of the 1960s Japan was just starting to become an area of interest in the United Kingdom due to its rapid recovery from the war. True, simply because the call of the government is for human resources with relevant and practical skills to commerce and diplomacy does not mean universities necessarily function with this aim in mind: universities, especially in the 1960s, maintained a high degree of autonomy. But to at least enhance the possibility of this happening the funding for Japanese studies as a result of the Hayter report was not given to departments likely to make these "traditional" type of appointments in the humanities, such as a specialist in poetry, ancient history or art. Funding the study of Japan was so students would acquire practical skills of use to employers. To this end, promoting Japanese studies at a university in England without a history of teaching Japan as an object of study in "Oriental Studies" was the end result of the Hayter report. This is the reason a new programme of Japanese Studies was launched at the University of Sheffield shortly after the report was issued (with the study of China at the University of Leeds and of Southeast Asia at Hull University being funded,

too: the so-called three "Hayter Centres" established in England). The creation of a Japan centre at Sheffield dedicated to the study of Japan in a social science faculty, with degrees in such subjects as "business studies" and Japanese, was a major change from Japanese studies in England until this time.

The second wave of institutionalization followed the further rise of Japan economically and the government's 1986 "Parker Report" on Asian and African languages and area studies (Parker 1986). The national interest was again at the forefront of the government's motivation to return to a consideration of the importance of Japan to the United Kingdom at this time. When the "Parker Report" was issued, the aim again was to strengthen the study of contemporary Japan, with the needs of commerce and diplomacy central to the government's concerns: the 1980s were, after all, the time of high economic growth when the whole world took note of Japan. The publication of *Japan as Number One* had called on the United States to learn from Japan before the start of the decade and a decade later the bursting of the bubble again focused attention on Japan (Vogel 1979). It was in the 1980s, too, that corporate funds started to flow into Japanese studies, with the setting up in 1981 of the Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies at Oxford University the most well-endowed of a number of corporate benefactions in the United Kingdom. This went hand in hand with an increase in research funding for Japan at the national level, directing the attention of social scientists in general to Japan as the object of study. Indeed, the research funds for the study of Japan did not necessarily go to those with training in Japanese language or Japanese studies, as a range of social scientists sought to take advantage of the funding available to apply their social science method to Japan as object. For instance, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), the main funder of social science research on Japan at the time, *directed* research to particular areas of concern to the national interest, as illustrated by the research conducted on government and industry relations in Britain, West Germany and Japan in the late 1980s. These funds were of a much larger scale than the specialist funding of Japanese Studies represented

by the much smaller level of funding from the Japan Foundation or the Japan Foundation Endowment Committee.

The third and final expansion of Japanese studies through national policy was the funding arising out of the £25 million Language-Based Area Studies (LBAS) initiative of 2006. It was motivated by the need to ensure the nation maintained national capacity in what the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) regarded as "strategic *and* vulnerable" subjects (HEFCE 2005: 1, original emphasis). It was one of the outcomes of the Higher Education Funding Council for England Chief Executive's Strategically Important Subjects Advisory Group's report which confirmed that, in cases where the market mechanisms of supply and demand lead to a mismatch with national needs—that is, the subject is both strategic *and* vulnerable—the state may intervene in order to secure national capacity in specialist subjects. The LBAS intervention identified a number of areas to be supported by consortia of universities able to help meet national needs in terms of training a new generation of specialists. The competitive bidding by consortia of universities (single institutional bids were disallowed) lead to five consortia of universities being funded as centres for excellence in strategic and vulnerable area studies, with one centre dealing with Japan as part of the White Rose East Asia Centre (WREAC), the National Institute of Japanese Studies (NIJS).

WREAC was established as a joint initiative between the Universities of Leeds and Sheffield. It is the focus is on research and training of the "next generation" of East Asia specialists at the level of PhD and beyond. The funding received was for Chinese and Japanese Studies at over £4.1 million, including a total of sixteen studentships and a number of postdoctoral and early career fellowships. The LBAS centres were initially funded for five years and then for a further five years at a much reduced level of funding, with no designate funding for postgraduate scholarships, post-doctoral and early-career fellowships. Whatever the fate of these centres following the end of designated funding in February 2016, the institutionalization of the study of Japan as object can be clearly seen to be linked

to concerns at the highest levels of government about the need to maintain a cohort of researchers with a specialism in Japan.

Of course, simply because government funds have been targeted at the study of Japan with relevance to commerce and diplomacy does not mean that Japan specialist conducted research with this in mind: in fact, until the 1980s, the amount of research published on Japan, especially in the social sciences, was limited, as were the number of university posts in Japanese studies. Nevertheless, the rise of Japan did create a perceived need for research on Japan and funds available through the Economic and Social Research Council ensured that, even if the research was not necessarily carried out by Japan specialists, research on Japan gained greater salience from the 1980s onwards and the need for national capacity building in the field was recognized by the LBAS initiative.

Conclusion: from area studies to "network studies"

But most of this research and capacity building on Japan has been carried out on a national basis, with the rise and fall of funding having an impact on the field. Within the constraints of the institutional funding of Japanese studies, a potential way forward in sustaining the health of "strategic and vulnerable subjects," is to promote networked studies of Japan with researchers drawn from a range of countries and institutions. Many of the graduate schools of Britain and Japan are host to students from all parts of the world, who create an intellectual environment where the disciplinary skills and contacts needed to develop research projects based on a network of scholars can be realized. There is, of course, the danger that, in this process, the homogenization of theoretical approaches will emerge, creating not richer and deeper knowledge, but rather the convergence of approaches along the lines adopted in the top graduate schools in the United States (Takeda and Hook 2008). The fear that, after being trained in a particular disciplinary approach, foreign students will return home and continue their allegiance to that

approach, making the difference of nationality and culture of less importance than training in the discipline, cannot be discounted. This would make the intellectual contributions from scholars in different parts of the world the promulgation of a hegemonic discourse.

Despite this caveat, however, the existence of a plurality of approaches and the possibility for collaboration among a divergent network of scholars in terms of discipline as well as nationality and culture can still be said to provide the opportunity for research and training on Japan to avoid convergence along the lines of the hegemonic approach in a particular discipline and avoid the sorts of criticisms voiced by Miyoshi (1991). With the possibility for non-nationals to develop their careers in a global as well as national context, the research network can include East Asian scholars with careers in the North American and European academe, and North American and European scholars with careers in East Asia, as well as nationals of these regions.

Clearly, Japanese nationals have developed the disciplinary skills and theoretical approaches to enable them to find careers in North American and British universities. Similarly, in Japan, an increasing number of universities are employing North American and European scholars in disciplinary departments, not just as "native" interpreters of their national language and culture. Indigenous scholarly traditions are being brought to bear on the matter under study by non-indigenous as well as indigenous scholars, with a growth in the number of scholars who can be regarded as bi-cultural as well as bi-lingual. In this sense, "Japanese studies" specialists, traditionally viewed as a national of another country with at least the ability to speak and read the language as a tool for primary research but who at the same time may have become "tainted" by the local culture in terms of career prospects and advancement, are now emerging with dual identities if not indeed dual nationalities. In short, "network studies" need to be built on the knowledge of a particular country in order to strengthen theories and approaches to Japan able to strengthen area studies as well as the wider scholarly disciplines.

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON TAKEUCHI YOSHIMI'S *ASIA AS METHOD*

Introduction

The 1960s saw a steady decrease in the level of political confrontation in Japan. After Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke resigned in the wake of the struggle against the renewal of the Security Treaty between the United States and Japan (Anpo), prosperity and economic growth became the priorities of the newly established cabinet led by Ikeda Hayato. These targets, perfectly consistent with the astonishing record of growth that Japan achieved in the years of the postwar "economic miracle" (1950-1973), were institutionalised in the income doubling plan, which was launched in November 1960. As a speech given by Prime Minister Ikeda clarified, doubling income was not the only aim of the plan: "Turning bright, by means of the income doubling plan, people's feelings that had become gloom as a consequence of the Anpo unrest: this is the *change of pace*; herein lies the real regeneration of people's feelings."[1] Indeed, after the protests against the renewal of the Treaty ceased, a change of pace did occur. Large-scale political struggles gave way to less ambitious cause-oriented activism and the ideology of modern consumerism slowly caught on in Japanese society. People became less eager to endanger their livelihood in the name of political values and were more sensitive to Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) cooptation. As for the intellectuals, many of those who had actively participated in protests against

1 Quoted in Nakamura Masanori 中村政則, *Sengo Nihonshi* [Japan's Postwar History] 『戦後日本史』(Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 2008), p. 84. Emphasis in original. All the translations in this paper are by the author.

the government retreated from politics. Orphans of the grand debates that had polarized attention in the early postwar years, cultural and political critics turned to a more "individualized" (*kobetsuka* 個別化) intellectual agenda.[2]

The personal path of the sinologist and cultural critic Takeuchi Yoshimi (1910-1977) exemplifies the overall trend of Japanese intellectuals' engagement after the Anpo demonstrations died down. Takeuchi not only spoke and wrote against the renewal of the Treaty, but also resigned his professorship at Tokyo Metropolitan University. From his point of view, the real issue at stake was not pacifism, but rather democracy. Protesting against the renewal of the treaty implied coming to terms with wartime fascism. This, in turn, required facing an ultimate question: "Democracy or dictatorship? This is the only and biggest point of contention. What is not democracy is dictatorship, what is not dictatorship is democracy. There is no midway."[3]

After his resignation, Takeuchi progressively abandoned engagement in politics. He devoted himself to the study of Lu Xun (1881-1936) — the Chinese writer that he regarded as a mentor and model — occasionally giving lectures and participating to round-tables. The proceedings of one of these lectures resulted in the article "Asia as method" (*Hōhō to shite no Ajia*), that was first published in 1961. This essay can be considered an interesting evidence of Takeuchi's transition from "revolution" to "silence", to borrow Matsumoto Ken'ichi's words.[4] On the one hand, the conceptual framework of "Asia as method" shows a significant continuity with the radical criticism inspiring Takeuchi's work in

2 Watanabe Osamu 渡辺治, 'Nihon gendaishizō no saikeisei. Nihon shakai no tokushuna kōzō kaimei no tameni' [Reshaping the Image of Japanese Modern History. For an Insight into the Peculiar Structure of Japanese Society]「日本現代史像の再形成―日本社会の特殊な構造解明のために」, *Rekishikagaku* 歴史化学, 124-125 (1991), pp. 8-9.

3 Takeuchi Yoshimi 竹内好, 'Minshu ka dokusai ka' [Democracy or Dictatorship?]「民主か独裁か」, in *Takeuchi Yoshimi Hyōronshū* [Selected Writings of Takeuchi Yoshimi]『竹内好評論集』(Tokyo: Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房, 1966), II, p. 225.

4 Matsumoto Ken'ichi 松本健一, *Takeuchi Yoshimi ron: kakumei to chinmoku* [A Dissertation on Takeuchi Yoshimi: Revolution and Silence]『竹内好論―革命と沈黙』(Tokyo: Daisan Bunmeisha 第三文明社, 1975).

the early postwar period. On the other hand, the article represents one of the last significant contributions that the sinologist gave to the intellectual discourse of his time, before leaving the public scene.

"Asia as method" has recently attracted the attention of scholars in postcolonial and cultural studies.[5] Indeed, in the essay, Takeuchi poses a serious challenge to the cultural imaginary formed by capitalism, imperialism, and colonialism. Yet, as will be shown, Takeuchi's arguments also provide very interesting insights into postwar Japan's intellectual history. The aim of this article is to analyse the impact of "Asia as method" on the debate on modernization that unfolded in the first two decades of postwar Japan. Tracing the theoretical roots of the "method" proposed in the essay with *ad hoc* references to Takeuchi's intellectual biography, it will be clarified how "Asia as method" challenged some of the assumptions underpinning Japanese scholarly discourse on modernity.

Asia as method

In the introductory section of the article "Asia as method", Takeuchi conceptualises Asia moving from his personal experience. The author explains why he chose Chinese literature

5 The most notable example is indeed the work of the scholar Kuan-Hsin Chen. See, Kuan-Hsin Chen, *Asia as method: Toward Deimperialization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011). Other recent studies on Takeuchi Yoshimi include: Richard F. Calichman, *Takeuchi Yoshimi. Displacing the West* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell East Asia Series, 2004); Matsumoto Ken'ichi 松本健一, *Takeuchi Yoshimi "Nihon no ajiashugi" seidoku* [A Close Examination of Takeuchi Yoshimi's "Japan's Asianism"]『竹内好「日本のアジア主義」精読』(Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 2000); Watanabe Kazutami 渡邊一民, *Takeda Taijun to Takeuchi Yoshimi. Kindai Nihon ni totte no Chūgoku* [Takeda Taijun and Takeuchi Yoshimi. Modern Japan and China]『武田泰淳と竹内好―近代日本にとっての中国』(Tokyo: Misuzu shobō みすず書房, 2010); Samuel Guex, *Entre nonchalance et désespoir. Les intellectuels japonais sinologues face à la guerre (1930-1950)* (Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang, 2006); Sun Ge 孫歌, *Takeuchi Yoshimi to iu toi* [A Question called Takeuchi Yoshimi]『竹内好という問い』(Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 2005).

as a field of study when he enrolled at Tokyo University and his autobiographical memory results in a sincere and quite ironic account.

> After all, I did not intend to study Chinese literature when I enrolled at university. Actually, I must confess that I did not feel like entering university or graduating at all. […] I chose the School of Literature because the entrance examination was not hard and I opted for Chinese literature because it was the easiest to enter among the literary courses.[6]

Coincidental as it was, the decision to study Chinese literature changed Takeuchi's life. When he travelled to China for the first time in 1932, he fell in love with the country. He felt that there was something inside himself that was intimately linked to China: "I was impressed by the fact that there were human beings with a way of thinking similar to mine". [7] At the same time, he realised that there was a "big discrepancy" (*ōkina zure* 大きなズレ) between the real China and Japanese people's perception of China, as well as a huge gap between himself and the country, because of his poor knowledge of the Chinese language. Hence, Takeuchi resolved to commit himself to the study of Chinese language and Chinese literature. Since he graduated (1934), China has become the object of his research and the *raison d'être* of his intellectual life. Whereas in the early years of his scholarly activity Takeuchi focused on contemporary Chinese literature, conceived as a means to look into "the hearts of the neighboring human beings" and to reform the "dead scholarship" of sinology, Japan's defeat in World War II prompted him to rethink his role as a China specialist. As he recalls in the article: "After defeat, I felt that it was necessary to step forward a little more". [8] Rectifying the mistakes and the inadequacy of Japanese people's perception

6 Takeuchi Yoshimi 竹内好, 'Hōhō to shite no Ajia' [Asia as Method]「方法としてのアジア」, in *Takeuchi Yoshimi Hyōronshū*『竹内好評論集』(Tokyo: Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房, 1966), III, p. 397. An English translation of the essay "Asia as method" is included in Richard Calichman, *What is Modernity? Writings of Takeuchi Yoshimi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), pp. 149-166.

7 Takeuchi Yoshimi, 'Hōhō to shite no Ajia', p. 398.

8 *Ibid*., p. 400.

of the Chinese was no longer sufficient. It was essential to go beyond that in order to understand where Japanese history had gone wrong and thus make clear the "foundation" (*konkyo* 根拠) of postwar Japan. Chinese history and culture were to become the analytical tool *par excellence* to perform this task.

Accordingly, after 1945 for Takeuchi, China became a sort of lens for looking at Japan. More specifically, it was the peculiar model of Chinese modernisation to offer Takeuchi valuable insights into Japan's past and present.

> Suppose that we understand Meiji Restoration as the origin of Japanese modernisation. That happened in 1868, isn't it? As for Chinese modernisation, there are several views, but if we assume that it coincides with the May 4th movement, that would be in 1919. There is a 50 years' difference […]. One explanation for this is that Japan was more adaptive. Therefore, it succeeded in dismantling the feudal system, in building a modern state, and in introducing a modern culture. This was not the case with other countries such as India and China that were colonised.[9]

As history reminds us, the delayed start of the Chinese modernisation process was indicative of China's vulnerability vis-à-vis Western great powers. Confronted with multiple endogenous and exogenous crises, the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) failed to provide an effective response to the global transformation ignited by the industrial revolution. China was reduced to "semi-colonial" status and slowly became marginalised and impoverished. On the contrary, Japan managed to escape colonisation, and successfully turned into a prosperous and industrialised country. Nevertheless, Takeuchi warns, it is misleading to consider the two modernisation processes just in terms of quantitative achievements, without taking into account quality. This is precisely what happened in the debate about modernisation that unfolded in the aftermath of the Pacific War in Japan. Changing quality into quantity became a relatively widespread attitude, as Takeuchi points out in another article. According to the sinologist, the theory of modernisation presented by the political scientist Maruyama Masao (1914-

9 *Ibid*., p. 413.

1996) in the late 1940s exemplifies this attitude very well.

Maruyama dealt with the Chinese "delay" (*tachiokure* 立ち遅れ) without considering the "quality" (*shitsu* 質) of Chinese modernity. Yet, in Takeuchi's understanding, quality should not be ignored as it provides the key to explaining why China, unlike Japan, achieved genuine modernity. The nature of modernity is intrinsically related to "tradition" (*dentō* 伝統) and "resistance" (*teikō* 抵抗). China became "modern" because it was able to deny "tradition" and at the same time preserve it.[10] Chinese modernity is consistent and valuable because it is rooted in "resistance" to the West, that is, it is endowed with the prerequisite condition for modernity: "Through resistance, the East modernised itself. The history of resistance is the history of modernisation. There was no way to modernisation that would not pass through resistance".[11] On the contrary, Japanese modernity is not based on resistance, but rather on an emulation of the West. Japanese leaders behaved like "honour students" (*yūtōsei* 優等生), that is, like diligent pupils that stood out for their excellent imitation of the teachers.[12]

Just like Maruyama, the proponents of the "modernisation theory", indirectly referred to in "Asia as method", privileged quantity. Against the background of the Cold war, the American social scientists presented the process of Japanese modernisation as a success-story, as a model for the postcolonial world. The basic assumption underpinning their claim was that a universal path of progressive change leading to modernisation existed. This path resulted in a series of features that Japan's transition from "tradition" to "modernity" perfectly expressed, as the leading reports presented at the Hakone Conference on the

10 Takeuchi Yoshimi 竹内好, 'Nihonjin no Chūgokukan' [Japanese People's Vision of China]「日本人の中国観」, in *Takeuchi Yoshimi Hyōronshū*『竹内好評論集』(Tokyo: Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房, 1966), III, p. 59.

11 Takeuchi Yoshimi 竹内好, 'Chūgoku no kindai to Nihon no kindai' [Chinese Modernity, Japanese Modernity]「中国の近代と日本の近代」, in *Takeuchi Yoshimi Hyōronshū*『竹内好評論集』(Tokyo: Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房, 1966), III, p. 14.

12 *Ibid*., pp. 32-3.

modernisation of Japan (1960) suggested.[13] Yet, Takeuchi argues, it is inappropriate to propose Japan as "the only and absolute way to modernize for Eastern countries and underdeveloped nations",[14] because the process of Japanese modernisation is just "one pattern" (*hitotsu no kata* 一つの型) among many. It is simplistic to posit that there is a single way to modernise. Even more important, it is misleading to attach to the Western programme of modernity the power to homogenise the world. The West's invasion of the East triggered by the European process of modernisation did not result in a unilateral process of assimilation. As Takeuchi warns:

> A popular view – shared by Toynbee and others – has it that the world homogenises as a consequence of the West's invasion of the East and of the subsequent resistance triggered by this assault. Yet, in such understanding as well, there is a Western limit. This is not what Asians think today. They rather believe that, in order to put into practice the wonderful values of Western culture on a bigger scale, the West should be wrapped by the East once again, and conversely, the West itself will be transformed by this. This cultural rollback, or this rollback of values produces universality.[15]

Precisely what is the "cultural rollback" (*bunkatekina makikaeshi* 文化的な巻き返し) that Takeuchi alludes to is not clarified in the article. As other essays suggest, Takeuchi was mainly concerned with questioning the Hegelian vision of history implicitly recalled in the prevailing representation of the East-West encounter. As early as in 1948, he claimed the fallacious nature of the optimistic accounts of world history that would describe the West invasion of the East as a "triumph of reason" (*risei no shōri* 理性の勝利). In the article "Chinese modernity, Japanese modernity", he pointed out that the very fact that Europe perceived his self-expansion in the Eastern part of the world as "an influx from high order to low grade culture, as an assimilation of the first to the latter, as a natural adjustment

13 Marius B. Jansen (ed.), *Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernisation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).
14 Takeuchi Yoshimi, 'Hōhō to shite no Ajia', p. 402.
15 *Ibid*., p. 420.

of gaps in different historical stages" does not imply that such an account is true.[16] Indeed, not only this narrative is not real, as the subsequent "resistance" of the East confirmed, but it is also affected by a "Western limit" (*seiyōtekina genkai* 西洋的な限界), that is by an intrinsic Eurocentric bias.

Conclusion

The above analysis provides interesting insights into Takeuchi's contestation of the visions prevalent in the postwar scholarly discourse on modernity. In the essay "Asia as method", Takeuchi challenges the universalistic and hegemonic assumptions of the Western program of modernity. The sinologist refutes the idea that the process of modernisation entails converging toward a homogenising and Westernising model. In doing so, he calls into question the attitude to detach modernity from space and time shared by the proponents of the "theory of modernisation". At the same time, he refutes the kind of convergence that was postulated, albeit in different fashions, by Japanese "modernists" (*kindaishugisha* 近代主義者), such as Maruyama Masao, and by Marxian scholars alike.[17]

Framing Japanese modernity as just "one pattern" among many, Takeuchi suggested the coexistence of "multiple modernities", a theory that was to be presented decades later.[18] Just as the sinologist and the proponents of the theory of "multiple modernities" argued, non-Western societies did not converge towards a homogeneous path of modernity, but rather headed towards differentiation across a wide range of institutions. Modernisation was far from being an objective,

16 Takeuchi Yoshimi, 'Chūgoku no kindai to Nihon no kindai', p. 12.

17 The limited space does not allow a thorough analysis of this issue. For further details, see Noemi Lanna, 'Il dibattito sulla modernità nel Giappone postbellico e l'essenzialismo nichilistico di Takeuchi Yoshimi', *Annali dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"*, 63, 1-4 (2003), pp. 197-227.

18 See, for instance, Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, 'Multiple Modernities', *Daedalus*, 129, 1 (2000), pp. 1-29.

measurable and universal process. Even more interesting, when questioning the optimistic vision envisioning the expansion of European modernity as a homogenising process, Takeuchi raised some of the issues that successively were to be associated with the crisis of Western modernity, that is with the exhaustion of the modern project "in terms of the classical formulation that held sway for the last two centuries".[19] More precisely, Takeuchi put into question the Hegelian conceptualisation of history as a linear and progressive process that postmodernists identified as one of the totalising discourses of modernity. In Lyotard's words, he unveiled the fallacy of the "grand récits" representing history as a significant and universal totality, capable of functioning as a foundation of the historical initiative of humanity on the way to emancipation.[20]

Takeuchi's call for a method that would overcome the limits of universalising and Eurocentric visions of history was in many respects precocious and unique. In sum, the question of the qualitative nature of modernity, that he raised in "Asia as method" as well as in other essays, was inextricably linked to the criticism of what he labelled a "contemptuous view of China" (*Chūgoku bubetsukan* 中国侮蔑感).[21] Such a biased attitude towards the neighbour country and more generally toward Asia represented, in his view, the original sin of postwar Japan's intellectual discourse. Coherent with this persuasion, Takeuchi devoted his postwar intellectual activity to the theorisation of Asianism and to passionately claim the "China issue" (*Chūgoku no mondai* 中国の問題). Framed in this perspective, the method proposed in "Asia as method" can be considered as the gist of Takeuchi's stock arguments. Nevertheless, despite the sinologist's tenacity and passion, the *way* theorised in the article appears limited and fragile. Surely, it would be inappropriate to understand the

19 Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, p. 3; Franco Mazzei, *Japanese Particularism and the Crisis of Western Modernity* (Venice: Ca' Foscari, 1999), pp. 25-31.

20 Jean François Lyotard, *La Condition postmoderne. Rapport sur le savoir* (Paris: Lés editions de Minuit, 1979). See also Noemi Lanna, 2003, pp. 219-222.

21 Takeuchi Yoshimi, 'Nihonjin no Chūgokukan', p. 57.

word "hōhō" (方法), used by Takeuchi to designate his method, as a scientific or doctrinal system. After all, the Japanese term encompasses a wide array of meanings, referring to multiple semantic possibilities.[22]

The method proposed by Takeuchi is rather similar to what the original etymon of the Greek word μέθοδος alludes to. It is a device that opens up the way (*metá hodós*) to the intuition of truth. In a sense, it is a concept that is much closer to the Chinese idea of *tao*, than to the rationalistic assumptions underpinning Descartes' "Discourse on the method".[23] Still, even taking these remarks into account, it is quite difficult to identify the tenants of Takeuchi's method. As we have seen, it is possible to make sense of the methodological arguments presented in "Asia as method", in light of the categories "resistance", "quality" and "honour student culture" introduced in other essays. However, the only element we are left with to define the way Asia could function as a method is a rather vague notion of "cultural rollback".

The absence of a systematic elaboration of the method proposed is not surprising given the pervasive nihilism characterising Takeuchi's personal and intellectual life. As he confessed, showing a peculiar understanding of Cartesian thought: "Theorising with the help of Kantian like categories has never been my strength; I have rather been fascinated by that way of philosophising that is typically Cartesian and consists of departing from chaos to going back to chaos".[24] Indeed, the greatest legacy of "Asia as method" lies in the "chaos", in other words, in the theoretically creative confusion that Takeuchi's arguments raised in the debate about Japan's place vis-à-vis East and West.

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22 See, for instance, the entry "hōhō" in the Kenkyūsha's Japanese-English Dictionary. "Hōhō: method, device, scheme, plan, system, process, procedure". Koh Masuda 増田鋼 (ed.), *Kenkyūsha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* (Tokyo: Kenkyūsha 研究社, 1974, 4th edn), p. 471.

23 I am indebted to Paolo Villani for this comparative analysis of the Greek word "methodos" and the Chinese word "tao". Paolo Villani, *Introduzione alla storia del pensiero orientale* (Napoli: La città del sole), pp. 11-2.

24 Takeuchi Yoshimi, 'Kaidai'「解題」[Explanatory Notes], in *Takeuchi Yoshimi Hyōronshū*『竹内好評論集』(Tokyo: Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房, 1966), III , p. 422.

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NEW LIGHT ON TOHOKU UNIVERSITY LIBRARY'S COLLECTION OF CHINESE STONE RUBBINGS

This paper introduces recent findings concerning the stone rubbings collected by the famous scholar of Buddhism, Tokiwa Daijō (常盤大定), and held in the library of Tohoku University.

Fig. 1 Tokiwa Daijō

This group of stone rubbings had not been properly catalogued and was in effect a dead collection – a very unfortunate situation. It was unclear even how and why the rubbings ended up in the library collection at all. Between the spring of 2010 and the summer of 2012, together with my colleagues Saitō Tomohiro (齋藤智寛) and Watanabe Ken'ya (渡辺健哉), as well as the student Chen Qing (陳青), I compiled a complete photographic

record of the stone rubbings and documents related to Tokiwa. We then produced a catalog titled *The Tohoku University Library Collection of Chinese Stone Rubbings and Related Documentation* (『東北學附屬圖書館所藏中國金石文拓本集：附:關聯資料』), which was published by Konno Insatsu (今野印刷) in 2013.

Since the publication of the catalogue, I have proceeded - step by step - to consider the provenance of these stone rubbings and their value as items of cultural heritage.

Part One

Tokiwa Daijō was born in Miyagi (宮城) Prefecture in 1870 and was active as a scholar of Buddhism from 1900 until his death in 1945. He is best known for the publications *Buddhist Historic Sites in China* (『支那仏教史蹟』) and *Cultural Historic Sites in China* (『支那文化史蹟』), which he co-authored with the architectural historian Sekino Tadashi (関野貞). Between 1920 and 1928, while he was employed at Tokyo Imperial University, Tokiwa went to China for field work on historic sites no fewer than five times, returning to Japan with large numbers of stone rubbings and photographs. Since Tokiwa's death, 225 of these rubbings have been kept in the collection of Tohoku University Library. Some of the 225 rubbings were actually collected by Tokiwa after the last of his five journeys to China.

Now we turn to how these rubbings were transferred to Tohoku University. Tokiwa died on May 5, 1945 at the age of 75 in Dōninji temple (道仁寺), located at Shinterakōji (新寺小路) in the city of Sendai. When he was fourteen years old, Tokiwa was adopted by Tokiwa Ryōnen (常盤了然), abbot of Dōninji temple. When his adoptive father passed away in 1905, Tokiwa became the abbot of the temple.

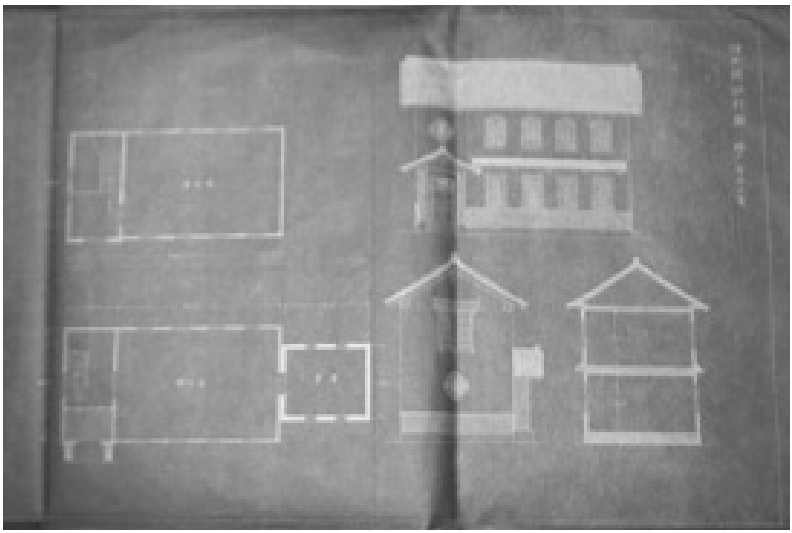

Fig. 2 The blueprints for the Museum of Historic Buddhist Sites of China
Plan: Ogura Tsuyoshi 小倉強
Supervising editor of plan: Itō Chūta 伊東忠太

In February of 1937, Tokiwa applied for support funding from the Eastern Cultural Project Section（東方文化事業部）of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the construction of the Museum of Historic Buddhist Sites of China. In his application, Tokiwa wrote:

> As the study of China is at once nearly impossibly difficult and, at the same time, extremely plain, there are very few people interested in the field, but it will be essential in Japan from now on. This study is not suited to cities with atmospheres of pomp and splendor. Sendai lacks the magnificence of other cities, and the youth of Tōhoku have a character well suited to this field. For the sake of the Orient, it is my hope that Tohoku Imperial University becomes the center of Chinese Studies. I believe most strongly that the establishment of the "Museum of Historic Buddhist Sites of China" (*Shina Bukkyō Shisekikan*) will play an important role

thus arguing for the importance of executing this plan in his own hometown of Sendai. Also, even allowing for Tokiwa's

– himself a retired professor of Tokyo Imperial University – deliberate justification of the application by linking the nature of Chinese Studies to Tohoku Imperial University, it indicates the connections he had with the scholars of Chinese Studies at Tohoku University, as I will discuss below.

It is recorded in the accompanying application form that the building would be erected on the grounds of Dōninji Temple. Furthermore, it states that an exhibition room for the larger stone rubbings was to be part of the building. In the end, the application did not prove successful. It is likely that the stone rubbings came into possession of Dōninji Temple at some point during those years.

Fig. 3 The rejection letter

Some years after Tokiwa's death in April 1949, the Faculty of Arts and Letters of Tohoku University was established under the new school education system of National Universities. According to the notes of the eleventh faculty meeting, held on 29 September of that year, it was decided that the "Stone rubbings collected by the former Tokyo University professor Tokiwa Daijō" would be bought with reserves from the Humanities Research Fund managed by the Ministry of Education.

Interestingly, the ninth faculty meeting of the Faculty of Arts and Letters held earlier in the month on 1 September produced a resolution to purchase a camera for the use of the Literature Department and an oscillograph used for electro encephalograms for the Psychology Department. In response to this request, however, the Ministry of Education stipulated that the reserves were not intended for the acquisition of scientific machinery and the money should be spent on books instead (in recent years such decisions would probably be quite the opposite, favoring machines over books). As a result of this, the assembly of department heads decided to buy the stone rubbings collected by Tokiwa.

Since there were only seventeen university professors, it seems plausible that the assembly of department heads consisted of only about thirteen men. It is still unclear who among these heads of department suggested Tokiwa's stone rubbings as a candidate for acquisition, but it is my conjecture that Kanakura Enshō (金倉圓照), the principal professor of Indian studies and the first head of the Faculty of Arts and Letters, or perhaps Sogabe Shizuo (曽我部静雄), the principal professor of Department of Asian History, made the suggestion.

In the surviving acquisition records of the university library, Kanakura Enshō is noted as the person who donated the rubbings, but it is probably only logical that his name was recorded in that space, since he was the head of the faculty at that time. Of course, considering the fact that Kanakura and Tokiwa were active in closely related academic disciplines, the likelihood that Kanakura was the one who suggested the stone rubbings as candidates for acquisition is fairly high.

On the other hand, the reason I have considered the possibility that it was Sogabe Shizuo who suggested the stone rubbings is because Tokiwa met with Okazaki Fumio (岡崎文夫) while on field work in Nanjing in on 14 December 1920, and Okazaki was Sogabe's predecessor as principal professor of the Department of Asian History. It is also possible that Okazaki and Sogabe met with Tokiwa in Sendai, after he had retired from Tokyo University. Regrettably, neither the archives of Tohoku University nor those

of the Ministry of Education contain records of the time, leaving the details of the series of events unclear.

Fig. 4 Okazaki Fumio
1888-1950 (Meiji 21-25)

Additionally, the records state that the stone rubbings were acquired for the sum of 120,000 yen. It is recorded that, in those years, the amount of money allocated for purchasing books was just 15,000 yen per department, making clear the relative size of the outlay for Tokiwa`s stone rubbings. Furthermore, as the Faculty of Arts and Letters had only been in existence for half a year, the stone rubbings constituted its first large acquisition. This underlines the importance of this material within the history of the faculty.

Fig. 5 Sogabe Shizuo
1901-1991(Meiji 34-Heisei 3)

Part Two

Tokiwa wrote reports of each of his five field work visits to China. He published the combined reports in 1938 under the title *Records of Investigations of Buddhist Historical Sites of China* (『支那仏教史蹟踏査記』). It is worth mentioning that 1938 was only one year after the start of the Second Sino-Japanese war, and also one year after the failed application for funds for the Museum of Historic Buddhist Sites of China that he wished to build.

These reports convey an impression of the devotion and sense of mission with which Tokiwa carried out his research. He states that his motivations are of a personal nature on the one hand, and aimed at the benefit of society on the other. About the latter, he writes (page 3):

> I hear that the ancient culture of China is being destroyed at an alarming rate. It is imperative that we Japanese, as members of the same East Asian Race and as a people that uses the same Kanji characters in our written language, get our research of China in order before it is too late. And Buddhism is the foundation of the order in that ancient culture. That is why I think that this is a mission that is placed upon the Japanese people, and Buddhists in particular.

He also says "we should bring Chinese Buddhism back to life" (page 87). On several occasions, Tokiwa states that he feels anger towards Buddhist temples in China, where he claimed scholarship and ideology no longer existed, because these temples only lured the hearts and minds of people in with superstitions. "In the end, these Buddhist temples that have no ethos are destined to become Taoist temples," he declared (page 89).

Again, in his preface he writes "Confucianism and Buddhism are the spiritual treasures of both the Japanese and Chinese peoples. Because both share ownership of these spiritual treasures, for more than 1000 years the two peoples have had an intimate and inseparable connection. As long as these treasures exist in the world, the connection in the hearts and minds of the two peoples should never end. Scholars in both Confucianism and Buddhism must have the confidence that, although the relationship between Japan and China is currently very bad, they will restore the exchange between the hearts and minds of both peoples" (from the preface, *Shina Bukkyō shiseki tōsaki*).

Similarly, the preface concludes by stating,

> The emergence of this current in the academic world of China (to conduct research on the remains and relics of Chinese Buddhism) is, while obviously for the benefit of the Chinese and Japanese peoples, something that is without equal when viewed widely in terms of the Oriental spirit. Just as we were praying ceaselessly for the spread of this current, the recent conflict broke out. Now the long-awaited momentum may well fall into temporary stagnation. But this will only be temporary. China is conscious of itself as a people and the renewal of its awareness of its own national culture cannot be stopped. The path to cultural interconnectedness will open here. We surely need to be fully aware of this.

This demonstrates that, in the midst of the declining relations between the two countries, Tokiwa had a sense of vocation as a Buddhist, and it is clear that he prided himself on having contributed to cultural interconnectedness based on Buddhism.

But he understood very well that conducting research by himself was not without danger. When he went to China for field work for the first time in 1920, he already noted "in the current situation in China, if we don't accept a little bit of risk, the majority of what we wish to do becomes impossible" (page 94). Regarding travel to regions outside those covered by insurance, he went on to state that, despite the possibility of misfortune, the wish to visit historic Buddhist sites was always stronger (page 95).

In fact, he only escaped danger by a very close margin on some occasions. For example, on his first trip, he visited Jingzhou (荊州) in Hubei (湖北) Province. He carried out research from the city of Yichang (宜昌) at that time, but soon after he left the city was plundered by soldiers, and the proprietor of the lodgings where Tokiwa stayed, Miyake Yahei (三宅弥平), sustained severe injuries (page 120).

The travel schedule that Tokiwa followed on his first research trip to China is illustrated in the map below.

First research trip route, 20/9/1920—5/1/1921:
[Beijing (北京)] Fangshan (房山)、Baiyunguan (白雲観)
[Shanxi (山西)] Datongyungang (大同雲崗) Shibixuanzhongsi (石壁玄中寺)、Tianlongshanshiku (天龍山石窟)、Tongzisi (童子寺)
[Henan (河南)] Longmenshiku (龍門石窟)
[Hubei (湖北)] Jingzhouyuquansi (荊州玉泉寺)
[Jiangxi (江西)] Bailudongshuyuan (白鹿洞書院)、Huiyuanmuta (慧遠墓塔)
[Nanjing (南京)] Niutoushan (牛頭山)、Zutangshan (祖堂山)
[Zhejiang (浙江)] Hangzhouxihu (杭州西湖)、Lingyinsi (霊隠寺)

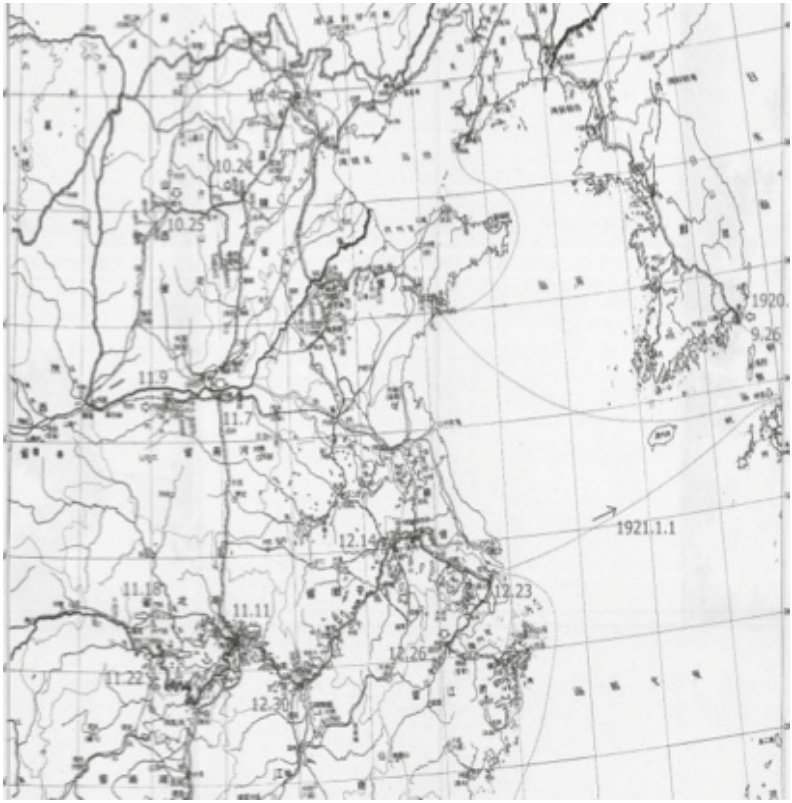

Fig. 6 Tokiwa's first field work trip route

In just three months, he investigated the important sites of a region of this size, personally making stone rubbings at each. He also discovered, for instance, the burial tower of the Buddhist monk Hui Yuan (慧遠) who lived in the Dongjin (東晋) period, and the Shibixuanzhongsi temple established by the monk Don Ran (曇鸞) from the Beiwei (北魏) period, both of which occupy important positions in the history of Buddhism in China. There is no doubt that he was the first to carry out such investigations, made possible because he had a profound knowledge of the history of Buddhism in China, thorough planning and strong devotion, as well as the support of local people.

The 225 stone rubbings that are now kept in the Tohoku University library were collected in this way by Tokiwa during these investigations in the field.

Half a century after his field work, many temples in China suffered damage during the Cultural Revolution. In the preface to his book, Tokiwa writes: "I have endeavored to preserve these historic Buddhist sites by saving them from destruction by both nature and man," but eventually, he could not prevent this "destruction by man."

To date, there has not been an exhaustive investigation of the current condition of the stone rubbings collected by Tokiwa. For instance, if we compare the Hui Neng (慧能) stele of the Nanhuasi temple (南華寺) in Guangdong (広東) to the stone rubbing that Tokiwa took from it on his fifth field work trip in 1928, we can see that a large crack has formed in the stele since then. Keeping in mind the damage done to cultural treasures during the Cultural Revolution, we can speculate that a further investigation of Tokiwa`s stone rubbings will reveal more cases where the face of the stone has sustained damage or the stone itself has vanished completely. When the current state of these steles becomes clear, then the stone rubbings collected by Tokiwa may come to be valued even more.

Some final thoughts

Because of budget limitations, only a small number of copies of *The Tohoku University Library Collection of Chinese Stone Rubbings and Related Documentation* was printed. In Europe, only the East Asian Library of Leiden University possesses a copy. In the United States, we have also donated copies to the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the East Asian Library of UC Berkeley. We are however thinking of also making the photographs available online in the near future, with the aim of allowing researchers everywhere to study the stone rubbings in the Tokiwa collection.

I am of the opinion that Tokiwa's stone rubbings and the publication that he produced are of great value because they can be studied together by researchers in the fields of the modern history of Japan, the modern history of China, Buddhist studies, philosophy, and other areas of study.

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PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE IN INTERCULTURAL CONTEXT

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THE SIGNS OF THOUGHT (THOUGHT AND METHOD)

> "Sire, now I have told you about all the cities I know."
> "There is still one of which you never speak."
> Marco Polo bowed his head.
> "Venice," the Khan said.
> Marco smiled. "What else do you believe I have been talking to you about?"
> The emperor did not turn a hair. "And yet I have never heard you mention that name."
> And Polo said: "Every time I describe a city I am saying something about Venice."
>
> I. Calvino, *The Invisible Cities*

1. Introducing the issue of a possibly new perspective on the Japanese studies, on the way to a thought that is able to acknowledge the problematic notions of method (from the Greek *methodos*) and a study involved in Japanese culture from a philosophical point of view, I would try to deal with some theoretical points. Approaching the theme of this conference, more than going down in the peculiar topics of my personal research – they will eventually come out in the development of my speech – I would like to stress the general problem of the so-called cross-cultural philosophy: how can we translate each other? How can we deal with a "foreign" culture, i.e. with a different linguistic frame and different categories of thought? I think that this sort of introductory topic is important, in order to avoid "the error of asking *our* questions of a philosopher from another tradition or time. [...] to take Japanese philosophical thinking as philosophy, not just as area studies. Western

philosophers have unusual difficulty in engaging Japanese thought philosophically."[1]

First of all, we must acknowledge that there is a "play", or a "dribbling", between thought and language: "The notion of a pure thought in abstraction from all expression is a figment of the learned world."[2] Of course, on one hand we have to recognize that if we claim that language is thought, and thought is language, "it is difficult to understand how translation from language to language, or within the same language between alternative sentences, is possible; if the sentence is the thought, another sentence is another thought;"[3] on the other hand, we must say with Wittgenstein that "in most cases which we call 'expressing an idea', etc., something very different happens. Imagine what it is that happens in such cases as this: I am groping for a word. Several words are suggested and I reject them. Finally one is proposed and I say: 'That is what I meant.'"[4]

Gottlob Frege gave a logical and philosophical answer to this problem introducing the distinction between *Sinn* (sense) and *Bedeutung* (meaning, or significance); that distinction has been indeed an important gain for the contemporary philosophy of language. It is not necessary to imply an identity between sentence (or language) and thought, but we should stress the fact that we cannot think apart from any means of expression. Thought is not equivalent to its own way of expression, but it does not go without it; it exploits the language's resources and characteristics.

According to Donald Davidson, "the dominant metaphor of conceptual relativism, that of differing points of view, seems to betray an underlying paradox. Different points of view make

1 Thomas P. Kasulis, 'Helping Western Readers Understand Japanese Philosophy', in Raquel Bouso, James W. Heisig (eds.), *Confluences and Cross-Currents* (Nagoya: Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture 2009), p. 217.

2 Alfred N. Whitehead, *Modes of Thought* [1938] (New York: Capricorn Books 1958), p. 51

3 Alfred N. Whitehead, *Modes of Thought*, p. 49.

4 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *The Blue and Brown Books* (Oxford: Blackwell 1958), p. 41.

sense, but only if there is a common co-ordinate system on which to plot them [...] It would equally wrong to announce the glorious news that all mankind – all speakers of language, at least – share a common scheme and ontology. For if we cannot say that schemes are different, neither can we intelligibly say that they are one."[5] The conceptual frames are not equal, and they are not different; we use spontaneously the abstraction of human "language" (*langage*), but we tend to forget that there are always particular natural languages (*langues*), or mother-tongues. The language is a term we use to describe an essential dimension of our "form of life" (*Lebensform*); but all the natural languages "dribble" each other, they are not simply different. More than a matter of difference, here we have differential "dribblings" (in French, *écarts*). So it would be a mistake if we tried to put aside the peculiar nuance of a thought, a nuance that is given by the language in which it had been formulated. In fact, as Stanley Cavell, wrote, "in 'learning language' you learn not merely what the names of things are, but what name is; not merely what the form of expression is for expressing a wish, but what expressing a wish is; not merely what the word 'father' is, but what a father is [...]; in learning language, you do not merely learn the pronunciation of sounds, and their grammatical orders, but the 'forms of life' which make those sounds the words they are, do what they do".[6]

Our way to learn a meaning is not separated from the *form* of saying that meaning, and the signs by which we express that meaning. When we translate, we make an experience of intelligibility, we get in touch with the opportunity of a dialogue with an author and a reader; in that dialogue, a new thought is elaborated. Moreover, a translation always possess a political and an ethical value, because it makes us slip away from a metaphysics of substance, from the supremacy of identity, going toward multiplicity, contingency, and toward differential dribblings

5 Donald Davidson, 'On the very Idea of a Conceptual Scheme' [1974], in *The Essential Davidson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 2006), pp. 197-208.

6 Stanley Cavell, *The Claim of Reason* (Oxford: Oxford University press 1979), pp. 177-178.

that are able to take into account the multiple character of the world without reducing it to a totalitarian identity, and without splitting it up into disconnected fragments. A translation is not only a means to vehiculate a meaning, it is not a tool to convey a message; it is an exercise of plurality with a clear ethical calling. A translation shows a possible convergence among the different languages, displays the linguistic character of the human beings and the event of language itself, the "linguisticality" of every speech (*Sprachlichkeit*); its goal is "to express the most intimate relation among languages."[7] Thus, a translation does not aim to make the different languages disappear, but rather to enhance their specificities and the plurality *in* language. This enhancing is indeed its own task, its own purpose – in order to stress the unity of languages through the diversity of the differential dribblings to which it gives rise. In showing the impossibility of a totalization, the translator's task points to a redemptive character, and underlines the ethics of his or her work. To translate is to do justice, is to respect and enliven the plurality of the *chaos-world*, in Edouard Glissant's sense: a world that one can no longer predict or plan in advance. A translation does not present equivalences, it rather opens inequalities, differences, and odds. It reminds that, in order to say something, we must always waive saying something else – unconsciously – because our natural language cannot allow us to tell everything. Translation is thus an experience of limitations, it is linguistically a particular experience of the limited condition of human beings; but it is also an exercise of liberation, proving that another world is possible; it is the celebration of an alternative condition of thought and life, allowing one to wonder about an exteriority.[8]

Communication and translation are not understood as efforts to erase or, at least, diminish the peculiarity and strength of languages, but – on the contrary – the multiplicity of natural languages constitutes a factor of empowerment, enrichment, and

7 Walter Benjamin, 'The Translator's Task', trans. by S. Rendall, *TTR: traduction, terminologie, rédaction*, vol. 10, n° 2 (1997), pp. 151-165.

8 See José Ortega y Gasset, *Miseria y esplendor de la traducción*, in *Obras completas* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente 1964), vol. V, p. 452.

an opportunity for human self-mirroring or self-understanding. The trans-cultural character of language does not imply the necessity to find only one common language, be it that of logic or science. In a continent with such a variety of languages with so long a history, like Europe, such a strong emphasis on the need to stimulate a real communication, the building of a community through plurality – and not to pursue a sort of low-level understanding following the pernicious dream of a unique language – is not negligible.

The deconstructive character of this effort aims to undercover the *situated dimension* of every form of thought, and the fact that every kind of philosophical task is rooted in a particular narrative, in a general scheme of organization (for instance, linguistic) of reality. In other words, every discourse (every *logos*) takes place in a horizon of meaning (I would call it a *myth*) in which the problems, the terms, the forms of questioning are shaped and take a consistency.[9] Given that we hardly see the categories and notions which we use to think, the consequence is that we are not only subjects *of* our practices (of thought), but we are mostly subjects *to* these practices. An intercultural deconstruction tries to remove the obsolescence of our notions, exposing them to a fresh confrontation with other possibilities developed by human thought, in order to vivify those very notions. In doing so, it reveals a care for the contingency, for the rootedness of every individual, without stiffening it but fostering its relational character. A new uptake about this character is actually bestowed by the transformation of the notions of *culture* and *identity* and their turning from permanent conditions to processes, dynamic forces in a constant process of negotiation and metamorphosis. Considering cultures in the perspective of possible resources of the human intelligence, instead of static identities, offers the opportunity not only to explore analogies and differences between philosophical traditions and avoid the idea of monolithic systems of thought, but also to point out

9 See Raimon Panikkar, *Myth, Faith and Hermeneutics* (New York: Paulist Press 1979), pp. 232-256.

the value of an *existential dialogue* (not only a rhetorical one) in a continuous intertwining of ideas and practices of writing, speaking, and thinking. Stressing the prefix *dia-* that begins the word "dialogue," recalling its Greek origin (*diálogos*) can enhance the necessity to think of an in-betweenness dimension at the core of every relationship, at the centre of every cultural structure. A dialogue is indeed what happens through the human language, by the means of *logos*, but it is also what implies a distance, an interval. It is just what has been developed by François Jullien through the French term *entre* ("between"). While the notion of "difference" analyzes, without producing anything and staying at the side of "identity," the notion of "between", so unnoticed, always refers to something other than itself. The cultures produce effects of "dribblings", more than effects of difference; and those dribblings give rise to the peculiar dimension of a "betweenness". The "between" is without self-determination or attribution, it escapes the question of Being; but everything passes "through" it, everything develops by its silent functionality.[10] The human intelligence (and mutual understanding) deploys "between" – between languages, cultures, thoughts, forms of writing. We can translate the character *ma* 間 not only with the terms "between," "space," "distance," or "interval," but also with "rhythm:" life is what develops itself in the rhythm of beings, between them, according to their confrontation, dialogue, and harmony, but according as well to their disruption, breach of severance. Still using *kanji*, we should recall two different ways to say "dialogue," or "conversation:" *taiwa* 対話 and *kaiwa* 会話. The former stresses the "confrontation" (*tai* 対) by the means of words (*wa* 話), but the latter conveys better the sense of "encounter" (*kai* 会). Between the speakers there must be a *distance* – to wonder about a full understanding without any remnant could represent a dangerous illusion: it is just by that distance that a dialogue can begin.

An authentic dialogue must show some fundamental features. It must be free from "apologetics," and every speaker should

10 François Jullien, *L'écart et l'entre* (Paris: Galilée 2012), pp. 49-57.

avoid the idea of defending his or her own tradition against the other, also face the possibility of changing his or her mentality. Given that a real encounter confronts persons who carry the value and also the burden of their own traditions, it is always a true challenge. Everyone can be transformed by that experience, and also the understanding of one's own tradition of thought can be changed – and enlivened. As Raimon Panikkar puts it, "a true encounter [...] is not simply a meeting of minds. Doctrinal comparisons should be genuinely dialogical, taking into account the reality of profoundly different worldviews."[11] A principle of reciprocity, according which the people who come into dialogue have to perceive themselves as free and equal participants in the shared practices of dialogue, should not avoid the fact that also a misunderstanding has to be taken into account in our dialogical practices. On one hand, a change in epistemic attitudes must occur on both sides to engage into dialogue, avoiding the tendency to "tame" the other, inscribing him or her discourse in our categories. On the other hand, we must be aware of the fact that we can perceive ourselves only decentralizing our ego and discovering that we are always exposed to the other.

2. Given these premises, I will go one step further, trying to elucidate what lies at the basis of my personal interest with and commitment to Japanese thought and, in particular, with some prominent examples or paths of thought in Japan. It seems to me that there are at least three dimensions we can underline, in order to stress not only the usefulness but also the necessity of Japanese studies, from a Westerner's perspective.

Firstly, passing through the *exteriority* of Japanese thought we (Westerners) can rediscover, or dig out, the options of the Western philosophy – options that risk otherwise to be considered a priori universal. We tend to take for granted what lies at the bottom of our choices and categories: only through exposing these categories to the otherness of different options

11 Raimon Panikkar, *The Intra-Religious Dialogue* (New York: Paulist Press 1999), pp. 61-71; 85-102.

of thought can we regain the peculiarity, and sometimes also the oddity, of those notions. As the Italian writer Italo Calvino wrote in his novel *The Invisible Cities* (1972): "Elsewhere is a negative mirror. The traveler recognizes the little that is his, discovering the much he has not had and will never have." On one hand, confronting a Japanese thinker (we never get in touch with the so-called "Japanese thought" in its entirety) allows me, a Westerner, to find out other possible ways of consistency, or other forms of intelligibility. The interest to go through the "exteriority" of Japanese thought consists in the possibility to get back to preconceptions from which European thought grew up, considering those preconceptions (starting from the forms of language and writing) as an "evidence." So we can gain a new "grip" on our own tradition, on our semantic system, that is usually not thought – given that all the categories by which we think are not reflected upon, just because we reflect *with* them. Therefore, we need to go outside to see them from a new perspective, taking a distance from them. In this way, we also get a new hint to shed light on the ideological "we" – supported by the categories of language and thought – that is always implicitly at work when we build up a sense of (cultural, social, political) identity.[12] European and Japanese thought can thus represent for each other a sort of "skillful means" (according to the meaning of the Buddhist notion of *hōben* 方便) to clear their own peculiarity. This does not mean to abuse those traditions, or cultures, only as specious tools – it rather implies the necessity of "alterity" for every process of significance, for every construction of meaning.

Secondly, we can also elaborate a new idea of the notion of "universality", sharing a common intelligence among different cultures. Dealing with Japanese thought I find that we can re-think and re-elaborate the idea of "culture": instead of thinking about it in terms of identity, we can try to elucidate it as a resource for thinking itself.[13] Following here some ideas proposed by the

12 See Jullien's notion of a "deconstruction from the outside," in François Jullien, *L'écart et l'entre*.

13 See François Jullien, *On the Universal: The Uniform, the Common and Dialogue between Cultures* (Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press

French philosopher François Jullien, we can challenge the rigidity of European concepts of the "universal," the "uniform," and the "common," in order to cash out a promotion of a reciprocal intelligibility of cultures. A new approach to intercultural dialogue is thus possible, through the interplay of tensions driven by the divergences and dribblings among languages and categories, in order to foster our capacity to think in multiple, different ways. Confronting different paths of thought, and thinking about cultures as "resources" and not as "identities" aims to *avoid the illusion of essentialism*, as if there were some fixed cultural items or characteristics that could allow the idea of a typical Japanese (or a typical European) way of thought. So, we should not confuse a generalization with a universalization. This attention has been clearly stressed by Thomas P. Kasulis, when he writes: "I am not saying *all* Japanese thinkers share the same assumptions, nor that they all share the same methods in their philosophy. I am only generalizing: most Japanese thinkers most of the time show evidence that they share these principles."[14] In other words, like Kasulis points out in the same page, we should not confuse a functional pattern with an essence; and these patterns are mostly carried on by what I would call the *signs of thought*.

So we come to the third point I would like to deal with. The confrontation with a different philosophical experience and, moreover, with a different form of *writing*, allows one to open up new possibilities to think and "grasp" the reality of things, through the development of different *signs of thought*. We must see, in fact, that the way of philosophy – as a way that aims to manifest the truth and (its) phenomena – can be regarded as a *hodos* (the Greek term for "way") mainly by virtue of its "signs" (*semata*). We can tell something and we can think only by means of signs, of determinations, or hallmarks. This is the great opening, for the Western ontology, provided by Parmenides in his poem: when he explicitly states that "we must judge with 'reason'" or "understanding" (krinai de logoi) rather than with the senses

2014).

14 Thomas P. Kasulis, 'Helping Western Readers Understand Japanese Philosophy', p. 218.

(*aistheseis*) only, he gives birth to a long and rich tradition. All the Western thought is somewhat still inscribed in the gesture that was initially made by Parmenides, who attributed to Being the signs of a logical reasoning. Like the Italian philosopher Carlo Sini underlines, it is just the lack of determinative signs for "non-being," or "nothingness," that avoids a "way of Nothingness" to be walked through.[15] Being is founded as a function of a *logos* that is supposed to tell the truth (*logos alethes*). So the way – in Greek language, the *methodos* – followed by Parmenides is a "way of the word" (*mythos hodoio*), that is to say a way we can deal with by thought and by speech. The goddess' revelation in Parmenides' poem is the way (*hodos*) of logical thought and its signs: "so that the signs of Being are, first of all, the signs of the thought that is not contradictory. [...] The truth comes in the metaphysical place of a way and a research that we could define [...] a way of 'pure logic', i.e. of a *logos* that is purified by every bodily *doxa*."[16] This radical shift, in the Greek archaic thought, implies a crisis – also in the original meaning of the Greek term *krisis* ("judgment, decision"). Parmenides' way of thought showed the crisis in the traditional forms of knowledge and wisdom. Since then, philosophy is, in the Western tradition, the "science of truth"; and we cannot tend to the truth without following the way (*hodos*) and the method (*methodos*) that have been opened by the logical reasoning. Only this is the way of truth (*methodos tes aletheias*).

From this archetypical origin to Hegel's thought, down to Heidegger's reading of the Western metaphysics, in the European path the problem of philosophy and the problem of method are mutually inclusive; they belong to each other. Philosophy displays itself, and is self-consistent, if it resolves in itself the question and the dimension of method, because as long as a method stays apart, or outside, the philosophical knowledge, the method is not (in) the knowledge, but stays still as something different – and the philosophical knowledge

15 See Carlo Sini, *Il metodo e la via* (Milano-Udine: Mimesis 2013), pp. 55 ss. See also Parmenides, fr. DK 28 B 7.

16 Carlo Sini, *Il metodo e la via*, pp. 58-59.

is not complete and coherent, because it excludes the method. So we falter and we stumble in a paradox: on the one hand, philosophy seems to be identified with the method, the path, or way to think and "decide by reason." On the other hand, philosophy as a universal form of knowing cannot be regarded as a mere logical tool, or a means that aims to something that stays outside (may we call it "world", or "reality"): philosophy claims to wrap up and finally to be identical to the movement of reality itself. According to the Hegelian perspective, philosophy is not a form of knowing; it is knowing itself in its generality and totality. Only if the movement of knowledge coincides with the movement of reality, and if reality is the becoming of knowledge (of the "Notion," in Hegelian terms), knowing is meaningful and not deceptive.[17] But what comes out from this quick survey on Parmenides' philosophical "gesture" is that this is only one possible option for the thought. In fact, it is the lack of signs that are able to express "Nothingness" that implies that Parmenides discarded this path. On that way we do not find the "signs of Being," but rather the signs of a *particular* thought, that represents itself as a *universal* one. Philosophy is not only the history of being, or ontology; we could say so only if we assume Parmenides' gesture as an absolute method. So, we should not cry at a hypothetical "crisis" (or end) of philosophy. What we must think is, more profoundly, that at the present time the signs of thought are perhaps changing, turning in something else; or that human thought (i.e., human subjects who are involved in the task of thought) is on the track for different traces, signs, or meanings.[18] But what happens if we can dispose of – or if we, Westerners, discover by a different language –different signs to think? The Japanese notion of *mu* 無, for instance, could help Western philosophy to dig out new meaningful concepts. In other words, it could help to get out new signs of thought and open up new paths to follow. It is not by chance

17 *Ibidem*

18 See again Carlo Sini, *Il metodo e la via*.

that an original philosophical itinerary, such as that opened by Nishida Kitarō (I am thinking here about his notion of *zettai mu no basho* 絶対無の場所) springs up not only from its Japanese cultural heritage, nor by his study of Western texts. A notion such as that of *mu* does not belong to the category of being; it is not internal to the being/non-being dialectics. It points to another domain of experience and thought. Like "being" is a useful sign in order to think a particular way of our "presence" in the world, so *mu* can be intended as a different sign, pointing to a different way to think about our relationship with things, to think about the human possibility to dwell in the world. Moreover, the word or sign "method" (*méthodos* μέθοδος) has its own peculiar implications: trespassing in a new domain, such as that of Japanese language and writing, we have to deal with a different sign, may it be that of *mesoddo* メソッド (i.e. a *katakana* transliteration) or *sahō* 作法 (literally: the "norm, manner, law" for production or cultivation). But this second word involves a complex knot of experiences, and calls to mind layers of meanings from the traditional arts; and this question involves and reflects again on the theme of translation, as we saw before. What I would like to stress, here, is only the complexity and the fruitful opportunity to pull together and combine these different *signs* – and not merely juxtapose them – bringing them to a new self-understanding and clarification.

3. In this perspective, we can look at various issues or topics that could constitute important lines of pursuit, or act as useful means in the work of intertwining notions, between European and Japanese frames. According to my personal philosophical interest, I would underline, for instance, the question of the body-mind relation, taking into account Eihei Dōgen's notion of *shinjin* 身心, in order to stress the inseparability of the intellectual and the bodily dimensions, and to bring to the Western philosophical attitude new ideas about the fact that this problem can be treated not only as the "problem of explaining how to connect the independently existing mind and body, but rather, of explaining

how bodymind comes to be abstracted into body and mind as opposing substances" (but finding a prominent analogous insight in Spinoza's *Ethics*, as a Western counterpart).[19]

Another path to follow can be the different insights about the notions of what in Western thought have been called *subject* and *self*. I will briefly deal with this issue in the final part of my speech. From a Zen perspective (if it is possible to speak about a "Zen perspective") every "subject" – empirical or transcendental, particular or universal – has to be understood as an actualization of the "emptiness" (*śunyatā* in Sanskrit, *kū* 空 in Japanese), that is another name for the dimension to which the true Self awakens. As a simple "name", it must undergo the process of emptying to avoid the risk of hypostatization. In other words, every seemingly self-subsistent subject (or object) has to be loosened and dissolved; true reality can appear only through this ablative operation, and the true Self – beyond the oppositions that link and condition every subject-object relation – reveals as the *place* or the empty ground of the empirical subject. From the viewpoint of Zen, an activity such as "*I see (something)*" ultimately arises from an impersonal, neutral, empty horizon in which the active process of seeing encompasses all the particular subjects that are actually undergoing that experience. Nishida Kitarō describes this insight in his work *Zen no kenky*ū (*An Inquiry into the Good*, originally published in 1911) with the following words: "... it is not that experience exists because there is an individual, but that an individual exists because there is experience. I thus arrived at the idea that experience is more fundamental than individual differences...".[20]

What is individual is in fact the self-determination of the universal "place" (*basho* 場所) in which everything occurs. On the basis of his experience of Zen, Nishida tried to reverse the traditional primacy that Western thought attributed to the category of *substance*, transferring it to the category of *relation*,

19 Thomas P. Kasulis, 'Helping Western Readers Understand Japanese Philosophy', p. 232..

20 Kitarō Nishida, *An Inquiry into the Good*, tr. by Masao Abe and Christopher Ives, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), p. xxx.

and tried to shift from focusing on the subject to focusing on the predicate. The true universal Notion is no longer a universal subject – as, for instance, in Hegel's philosophy – but a universal predicate that never becomes a subject, because it always stands as the all-embracing predicate, the all-inclusive dimension. So it is at the same time immanent and transcendent, or it is pointed at as an "immanent transcendence" (*naizaiteki chōetsusha* 内在的超越者). This is the real "Good" (*zen* 善, not to be confused with the Zen 禅 school) according to Nishida: to know that our "true Self" is the essence of the universe and not a single fragment unrelated to all the others. "Even though an individual is not aware of his personhood or subjectivity in this awareness of Nothing by Nothing, he remains the '*place*' where this Awareness happens."[21] Also what we call "Awareness" (*jikaku* 自覚) is not to be confused with a metaphysical Subject, or as an ontological dimension that subsumes in itself all the preceding and limited figures of truth. Zen attitude requires that every ego-consciousness or attachment to an ontological substance is erased. In the act of seeing, for instance, it is the actualization represented by the verb "to see" at the very centre of the dynamics that implies a relation between a subject – the one who sees – and the object – the one that is seen. The pure act of seeing, just as the pure act of sitting in meditation, or as every other ordinary action that *takes place* in the world, is referred to a condition defined *mushin no shin* 無心の心: the mind of no-mind, a mind without mind, a dimension of no-mindedness – a condition of pure mental clarity, arisen by the absence of the ego or limited self. Only this condition enables one to live fully, to understand reality as it is, and ultimately to avoid attachments that lead to sorrow. In Buddhist teachings, in fact, the ethical goal is more important than theoretical understanding. The real problem is finding a way to live without being suffocated by grief and pain; any clarification about the ultimate nature of reality is only intended as a useful means to change and better our moral conditions, our

21 Robert E. Carter, 'Toward a Philosophy of Zen Buddhism: Prolegomena to an Understanding of Zen Experience and Nishida's "Logic of Place"', *The Eastern Buddhist*, XIII, 1 (1980), p. 129.

behaviour and awareness. So, in Zen's perspective neither the category of *substance* nor that of *subject* are useful or correct for making the inner process of reality intelligible. What we can tentatively indicate as "true Self" (*shin no jiko* 真の自己) is not an absolute or transcendent Being or Subject that lies beyond creatures or the process that makes them infinite and true – they are infinite and true since ever, indeed. It is rather a horizon of infinite possibility, an empty ground from which all phenomena rise and spring, and in which they are finally absorbed.

The Self as a field is not an intentional consciousness that defines its object and comprehends it. The Self ultimately coincides with the predicate, the verbal dimension of "seeing," and corresponds to reality in its entirety. It should be understood as a harbouring place, a background in which phenomena incessantly occur and change. For this reason, when we say "an idea *occurs* to me" or "an idea *has come* to me," we are more right than when we say "we *have* an idea." We should not think that the ego has a self-consciousness, but that the true Self – as an impersonal field of universal awareness – can specify or individualize in a particular ego. In order to stress the contribution that Japanese language gives to Zen thought, we can also recall in Japanese we rather say "the sound of the bell is heard" (*kane no oto ga kikoeru* 鐘の音が聞こえる), while in Western languages we commonly say "*I* hear the sound of the bell." As Ueda Shizuteru puts it, it can be said that the "I," in the Japanese understanding, springs out of the experience itself: to be or to become aware means in this case that a sound is heard and has manifested. The ego-less or mindless Self is the neutral place of experience; the very event that a bell is heard is the I, and that event structures the empirical self. When the place in which the sound is received as itself is specified, then it is named "I" or "ego."[22]

The central insight is therefore that the founding moment of "experience" does not need a subject – which would introduce a split, a distinction, a break from the object – because it carries

22 See Shizuteru Ueda, 'Nishida's Thought', *The Eastern Buddhist*, XXVIII, 1 (1995), pp. 29-47.

beyond the canonical distinction between subject and object. It brings out a purified "seeing," cleansed from all kinds of attachments. Reality looks at itself through or by the means of the single subjects without soaring to an absolute Subject. A pure seeing, or a pure experience, means the real opportunity for integration and unification between the initially separated perceiver and perceived object. Even if language is forced to define and discriminate, i.e. to separate, for the sake of intelligibility, meditation and silent insight hold a deeper understanding. In an indeterminate horizon or background, the universal relatedness of every aspect of the world specifies, then comes back to that undifferentiated background. Just like in the relationship between the ocean and its waves, every single wave is indeed unique, and it should not be confused with the others. From the wave's point of view, it has its singularity; but at the same time, the ocean is still one and complete, and from its perspective it never changes, even if thousands of waves unceasingly are born and come to their end on the shore. Respecting the individuality of the single waves is not bad – but fixation on their supposed substantiality naturally leads to sorrow or despair when they go away. What we should do is understand that every wave is nothing but the water of the ocean – i.e. the totality of the relationships that generate all the waves. Moreover, we should recall that the ocean itself has "no self" (*muga* 無我) because it is not apart from its particular and impermanent expressions.

Like I have already tried to point out, also in this occasion we can witness how important it is to develop a particular insight of reality, to exploit the language's inner resources. This is not to say that language, and the signs by which it is constituted, totally determines and overwhelms the possibilities of thinking; but it is to underline how they are linked to a path of thought and the signs that it employs to express itself.

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"SAHŌ" AS A METHOD?

Some reflections on "Nippon/Japan as method"

How to learn? Nippon/Japan as Method

I took as starting point for my contribution two words from the Japanese title of this symposium: one is the word *hōhō* (方法), which is normally translated in English as "method". This word appears in the last part of the title, "Japan/Nippon as method", *hōhō toshite nippon* (方法としてニッポン). The other one is actually concealed in the first part of the title that I tried to translate with "How to learn?". The Japanese words for "How to learn?" are in fact: *manabi no sahō* (学びの作法), literally "the *sahō* of learning." When I was requested to translate it in English, I got into trouble because I didn't find – and I have not yet found – a satisfying solution for the word *sahō* in English. I want then begin here by sketching out my difficulties with the two words *hōhō* and *sahō* as philosophical questions.

The Western invention of the "method"

According to what the Italian contemporary philosopher Carlo Sini (1933) asserts in some of his books devoted to the problem of the relation between "method" and "philosophy" in Western tradition, I assume the idea that one of the decisive features of Western civilization is the transition, which occurred in the Old Greek culture, from a kind of mystical "knowledge" that should be achieved through a "path" (*hodos*, ὁδός) of religious wisdom, to a philosophical "knowledge" that should be achieved through a

logical "method" (*methodos*, μέθοδος).[1] This "methodological turn" gave to Western culture its particular "methodo-logical" connotation. Passing through various epochs (which we could define as "variations of method" in order to achieve the truth), the typical Western "methodo-logical" trait seems to remain crucial up to the present, determining on a global scale the academic disciplines and all the sciences with their methodological rigor and precision.

Such a characteristic turn seems to have happened in its unique way inside Ancient Greek culture. In the face of the fundamental problem of death, human beings tried several answers. In the archaic Greek culture, there were many "paths" or "ways" (*hodoi*, ὁδοί) to reach an answer that could give a sense to birth and death. According to another Italian contemporary philosopher, Giorgio Colli (1917-1979), these "paths" were the Dyonisian, the Apollonian, the Orphic, and the Eleusinian, that is "paths" of mystical rituals, where the final *epopteia* (ἐποπτεία), a direct experience or vision of "truth" or "god" in a state of *mania* (μανία), should give the solution.[2]

According to Carlo Sini, the turning point in Western culture should then be found in Parmenides (VI-V BCE), in his poem *On nature*. Starting from an Orphic-connoted wisdom, Parmenides seems to open for the first time the possibility to move from a religious "path", *hodos*, to a philosophical "method", *methodos*, that means: a *hodos*, a path, *meta*: "directed to a goal", where the goal is a kind of "truth" able to confer sense to life and death. But what is peculiar of Parmenides is that such a truth must be caught by the *noos* (νόος), the "mind", and the *noos* must follow a method (in Parmenides' words: must follow the correct *hodos*, the correct way). This method is a "logical" method, it is a rule for the *logos* (λόγος), basically the law of non-contradiction. If the mind follows a "logical" "method," the "method" of "logos," the "man who knows," the *eidos phos* (εἰδὼς φώς), can «see»

1 See for example Carlo Sini, *Il metodo e la via* (Milano-Udine: Mimesis, 2013) or Carlo Sini, *Etica della scrittura* (Milano-Udine: Mimesis, 2009).

2 See for example Giorgio Colli, *La sapienza greca* (Milano: Adelphi, 1977), vol. I.

the true Being, *eon alethes* (ἐὸν ἀληθές), that coincides with the experience of an "eternal now," the parmenidean *nyn* (νῦν) of Fragment 8,[3] where birth and death are dissolved. By reaching the Being, the method itself appears justified in its claim to truth.

Plato seems to assume the legacy of Parmenides and brings the problem of a logical method to the core of philosophy itself. Once he puts forth the hypothesis of existence of a "world of Ideas," Plato too thinks the Ideas could be "seen" passing through a discursive (logical) path or method. The *logos* must follow its rules in order to be true. The one who knows these rules is the *dialektikos* (διαλεκτικός), that is the (platonic) philosopher himself. The philosopher, following his "dialectical" method, can reach the *logos tes ousias* (λόγος τῆς οὐσίας), the "definition of essence" of a thing, and this is "true."

At the beginning of Western metaphysics, at the starting point of an itinerary we are somehow still in, Plato sets forth an indissoluble relation between "method" and "philosophy," that is: between thought, language and being, so that in his *Sophist* Plato can establish the basis of the Western "logic" and highlight the difference between himself and the Sophists, inaugurating a way of knowing that, passing through Aristotle's logic, could reach Galilei, Bacon, Descartes, and up to contemporary methodologies and sciences, for which the question of "method" is crucial in order to assure their "correctness".

Before going to the question of "Nippon/Japan as method," I would like to add just one more consideration raised by Sini: the close relation of "method" and "knowledge," from which Western metaphysics started and which seems to determine the ground on which science grew, was radically questioned by two great thinkers: Hegel in his *Phenomenology of Mind* (1807) and Heidegger in *Being and Time* (1927). Hegel thought that philosophy does not need a method to reach the truth because we are already and always inside the truth itself. On the other hand, Heidegger questioned the possibility of finding a neutral method to reach the truth, so that one could think that philosophy

3 Parmenides DK B 8.

is no more a question of "method," rather it could be a question of "style". If method and philosophy are separated, philosophy either changes into an absolute knowledge (like by Hegel) or it opens to the challenge of no more metaphysical thought (as by Heidegger).

Nishida and the task of an "Eastern logic"

Returning now to *Japan/Nippon as method*, which kind of contribution can Japanese culture or philosophy give to the Western question of the link between "philosophy" and "method"?

About 60 years after the publication of Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind*, meaning a period when the relation of "philosophy" and "method" began becoming a problem in Europe, philosophy started to be aggressively introduced in Japan at the beginning of the Meiji Era (1868-1912). Western philosophy took root quickly in the Japanese soil, and after only four decades, the first Japanese original philosopher, Nishida Kitarō (西田幾多郎, 1870-1945), published his first book, *An Inquiry into the Good* 善の研究 (1911),[4] which became a sort of philosophical "best-seller" in Japan.

The question of "method", *hōhō*, and of "methodology", *hōhōron* (方法論), was very important for Nishida from the very start of his career. The encounter with Western philosophy soon led Nishida to think – as he writes very clearly in same texts near to the end of his life (for example, *The Scientific Method* 「学問的方法」[5] of 1937, or *The Problem of Japanese Culture* 「日本文化の問題」[6] of 1940) – that the Eastern culture (the Indian, Chinese, Japanese ones) remained just at a level of "teachings" (*kyō*, 教) and could not reach the level of real "knowledge"

4 Takeda Atsushi武田篤司 et al. (ed. by), *Nishida Kitarō Zenshū [Collected Works of Kitarō Nishida]* 西田幾多郎全集, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 2002-2009), vol. 1, pp. 1-159.

5 *Nishida Kitarō Zenshū*, vol. 9, pp. 87-94.

6 *Nishida Kitarō Zenshū*, vol. 9, pp. 1-86.

(*gaku*, 学), because of their lack of "logic" (*ronri*, 論理) and a logical method (*riron*, 理論).[7] But it was not only Nishida; other philosophers of the Taishō (1912-1926) and early Shōwa (1926-1989) periods felt the necessity to build a "logic" for their thought. Examples include Tanabe Hajime (田辺元, 1885-1962), with his "Logic of species" (*shu no ronri*, 種の論理), Nishida's and Tanabe's pupil Kōyama Iwao (高山岩男, 1905-1993), with his "Logic of correspondence" (*koō no ronri*, 呼応の論理), and even the Buddhist scholar Suzuki Daisetsu (鈴木大拙, 1870-1966), who developed his "Logic of *soku-hi*" (*sokuhi no ronri*, 即非の論理).

In the first half of his philosophical career, Nishida tried to use Western logic and concepts to express his own Oriental point of view, but it was always misleading. He understood then he could not simply adapt the Aristotelian or Kantian logic to his Buddhist or Daoist background, because the *logos* on which the European logic was built is different from the Japanese or Chinese one. So he started to produce his own "logic," the so-called "logic of place," *basho no ronri* (場所の論理), the elucidation of which occupied Nishida until the end of his life: Nishida's last uncompleted essay was entitled *On my logic* (「私の論理について」, 1945).[8] While Nishida remained until the end involved in the question of logic and method in philosophy, he did not feel any sympathy for such positions like Heidegger's in *Being and Time*.[9] Philosophy is not a question of "style" for Nishida, it must possess a "logic". Nishida's position remains rather close to that of Hegel.

A path toward Being, a path toward Nothingness

In a very significant passage of his *Introduction* to the Italian edition of Parmenides, the Italian scholar Mario Untersteiner

7 See in particular *Nishida Kitarō Zenshū*, vol. 9, pp. 88 ff.
8 *Nishida Kitarō Zenshū*, vol. 10, pp. 431-432.
9 See on this topic Yūjin Itabashi 板橋勇仁, *Nishida tetsugaku no ronri to hōhō* [*Logic and method of Nishida's philosophy*] 西田哲学の論理と方法 (Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku shuppankyoku 法政大学出版局, 2004).

(1899-1981) summarises his thought on Parmenides' "method" as following:

> The reality of the ὁδός [*hodos,* path] ends up with the creation of the awareness of the ἐόν [*eon,* Being]: the logically exact method allows to appear a logically thought Being [...]. Parmenides enables us to attend to such a gradual emergence of Being in front of the εἰδὼς φώς [*eidos phos*, the "man who knows"], who moves forward in the ὁδός [path] revealing the necessary σήματα [*semata*, signs] [of Being].[10]

The same should be valid in principle for Nishida's logic of place too, but with some important differences. What for the Western metaphysics is Being, for Nishida, in accord with his Buddhist and Daoist traditions, is "Absolute Nothingness" (*zettai mu*, 絶対無). Furthermore, Absolute Nothingness is not first and foremost to be thought of in *logos*, but to be experienced in praxis. The logic of Absolute Nothingness does not lead to a panlogism like Hegel's, but to a kind of abandonment of the preeminence of *logos* in favour of the emergence of the question of praxis (that, at least for the young Nishida, are eminently the artistic, the moral, and the religious ones). Nishida considers bodily praxis more inclusive than the theoretical *logos*: on the one hand, Nishida seems to be very influenced by Hegel, but on the other, he agrees from the beginning of his philosophical career with Goethe's Faust, who said *Im Anfang war die Tat*, "In the beginning was the Act", and not the Word, *ho logos*.

Sahō as a method?

I would then finally try then to pose the question whether Nishida's philosophy, despite its constant striving for a logical rigour, could possess, thanks to its fundamental reference to bodily praxis, some traits that could suggest an understanding of the "method" different from the theoretical one. In this sense, it could be helpful to try to think what a "method" as *sahō* could be.

10 Mario Untersteiner, *Parmenide. Testimonianze e frammenti* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1979), p. LXXXVIII.

According to the *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*, *sahō* means: "Manners; etiquette; decorum; propriety; form".[11] The *Japanese-Italian Dictionary* of Shogakukan gives almost the same definition.[12] But if one looks to the *Kōjien* definition of *sahō*, it is possible to find a more suitable description: *sahō* is defined there as

1. Method for doing things.
2. Correct forms of living/of movements.
3. Rule. Customs.
4. In the Buddhist sense: Forms of carrying out Buddhist rituals by Buddhist priests.[13]

In these senses, some similarities with Nishida's thought could be perhaps be found, in particular if one thinks of *sahō* as in traditional Japanese arts, for example the tea ceremony or *kata*-linked arts like in *budō* (武道) and so on. *Sahō* and *hōhō* differ in fact only in the first *kanji*: the second is *hō* (法), "law," "rule." But in *hōhō*, the first *kanji hō* (方) means "direction, way, method," whereas in *sahō* the first *kanji sa* (作) means "produce, do," *tsukuru* (作る). *Sahō* seems therefore to be basically a "method for doing things," to produce something in daily life, i.e. a method of praxis. Secondly, as a "method for doing" things, *sahō* emphasizes implicitly the role of the body, more than the role of the solitary mind. And finally, *sahō* as a bodily-doing seems to be directly related to artistic production or religious rituals, the repetition and practice of which implies an ethical meaning (which probably would vanish, if one translates *sahō* just with "etiquette").

If philosophy since Parmenides and Plato is strictly related to a "method" in order to exist, what could then be the consequences,

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11 Koh Masuda 増田鋼 (ed. by), *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* 新和英大辞典 (Tokyo: Kenkyusha 研究社, 26th Impression 1992), p. 1411.

12 Ichirō Nishikawa 西川一郎 (ed. by), *Dizionario Shogakukan Giapponese-Italiano* 小学館和伊中辞典 (Tokyo: Shogakukan 小学館, 6th Impression 1999), p. 590: "Buone maniere, etichetta, educazione, galateo, regole"

13 ①物事を行う方法。②起居・動作の正しい方式。③きまり。しきたり。〔仏〕：授戒・仏　事など仏家で行う方式。Izuru Shinmura 新村出 (ed. by), *Kōjien* 広辞苑 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 4th Edition, 5th Impression 1995), p. 1048.

if its "method" was not a theoretical *hōhō*, but something similar to *sahō*? I would like to finish with two tentative suggestions.

Suzuki and Heidegger: How to do philosophy?

The first suggestion concerns a visit the Japanese Buddhist scholar Suzuki Daisetsu paid to the German philosopher Martin Heidegger in 1953. Suzuki writes in a diary-like long letter about this encounter:

> To Heidegger, I told him about my opinions on the difference between Western and Eastern people in relation to bodily posture (*shintaiteki shisei*, 身体的姿勢) when they think (*shisaku suru*, 思索する).[14]

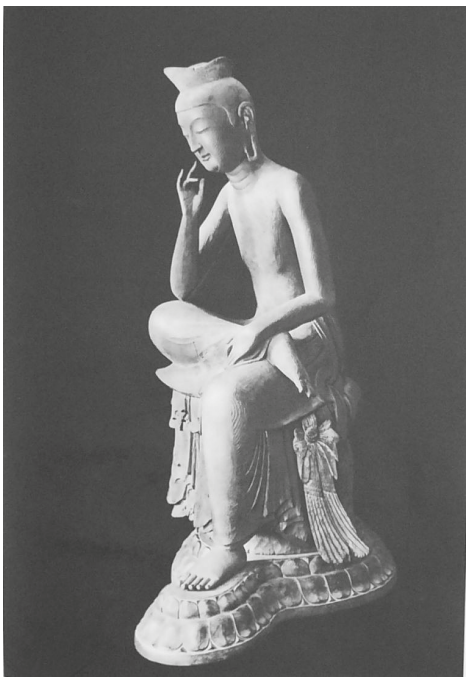

Fig. 1 Thinking Maitreya in Kōryūji temple, Kyōto

14 Shin'ichi Hisamatsu 久松真一 et al. (ed. by), *Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshū [Collected Works of Suzuki Daisetsu]* 鈴木大拙全集, vol. 29 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1970), p. 640.

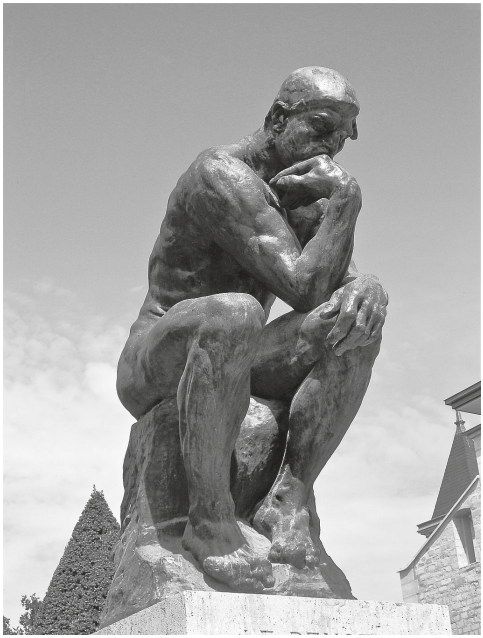

Fig. 2 A. Rodin, *The Thinker*

For Suzuki, in fact, just by comparing the statue of "Thinking Maitreya" (*Miroku bosatsu hanka shii zō*, 弥勒菩薩半跏思惟像 picture 1) in Kōryūji temple (広隆寺) in Kyōto and the *Penseur* of Rodin picture 2, what should become evident is "an interesting difference in what Eastern and Western culture roots," a difference in the background of which lies "something deep spiritual" (*fukai shintekinaru mono*, 深い心的なるもの).[15] It is well known, that Heidegger too was curious about *Zen* and how to do *zazen* (座禅), and once to his Japanese pupil Kōichi Tsujimura (辻村公一, 1922-2010), who was also a *Zen* practitioner, to show him the posture of *zazen*.[16] "How to do *zazen*" could be perhaps reformulated in Japanese as: "What is the *sahō* of *zazen*?".

15 *Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshū*, vol. 29, p. 640.
16 I thank Ryōsuke Ōhashi大橋良介 for this information.

What I find even more interesting is that Suzuki's text on the encounter with Heidegger continues as if Suzuki would have put to Heidegger a question similar to that he writes he wanted to ask Jaspers when he met him, i. e. what does he think about the role of bodily posture in thinking.

> Heidegger said that ancient Greeks thought (*shisaku shita*, 思索した) by laying down on a bed. He said also that interesting thoughts (*kangae*, 考え) often come, if he thinks (*kangaeru*, 考える) while lying in bed, before getting up in the morning.[17]

It seems clear that Suzuki's interest was focused on "how to do philosophy" as if the problem for him would be "what is the *sahō* of philosophy, the *sahō* of thought." Judging from Heidegger's words, such a question was probably puzzling for the German philosopher, or at least somehow unexpected. What is for me interesting is to note that the "method" of thinking involves naturally for the *zen* practitioner Suzuki the fundamental role of the body, so that more than *hōhō*, it seems to have the features of *sahō*. A first effect of considering the method of philosophy as *sahō* could be then to highlight the methodological importance of the body in thinking, leading to the question of what a "bodily thought" could mean.

Tracing concepts

A second and more articulate suggestion could probably be found in Nishida, insofar as Nishida was surely a philosopher who constantly attached importance to body and praxis as place where Absolute Nothingness determines itself. In this sense, it could be thought that Nishida's "method" (of self-determination of Absolute Nothingness) swings between *hōhō* and *sahō*, opening new prospects on the relationship of body and thought.

In order to give an example of such a swing or overlapping, I would like to underline that Nishida was not only a famous

17 *Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshū*, vol. 29, p. 640.

philosopher, but also an amateur poet and, as far as critics like Hisamatsu Shin'ichi (久松真一, 1889-1980) say, quite a good calligrapher (*shodōka*, 書道家). Some of his works still remain and are published in books. Most of them are quotations of Chinese or Zen words or sentences. It is interesting to note that Nishida signed his paintings with his Buddhist name *Sunshin* (寸心).

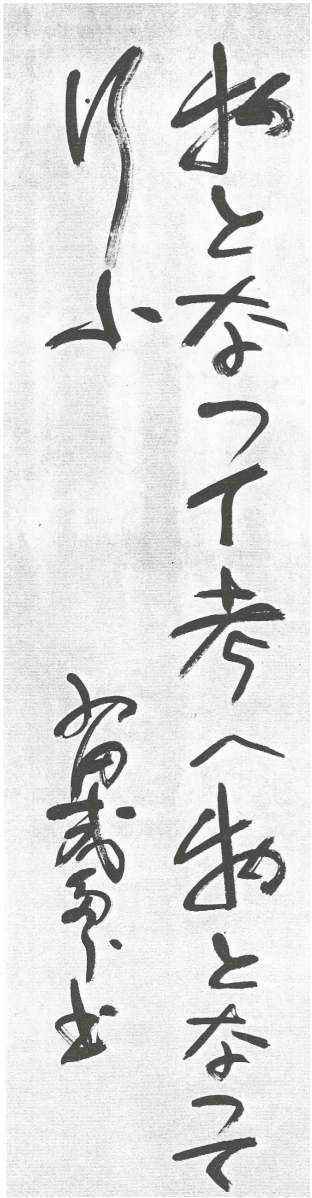

Fig. 3 Calligraphy of Nishida: «*By becoming things thinking, by becoming things acting*»

But I always wonder when I see that if Nishida would also write his own philosophical concepts in some of his paintings, for example: *by becoming things thinking, by becoming things acting* (*mono to natte kangae, mono to natte okonau*, 物となって考へ物となって行ふpicture 3).[18] It should be clear that, when Nishida paints not only ancient sentences, but his own concepts, the praxis of painting is no more just a secondary activity, but appears strictly linked with his own philosophy, so that it is not surprising that Nishida signed this painting not with his Buddhist name Sunshin, but with his name as a philosopher, Nishida Kitarō. So, why did Nishida paint concepts? I cannot imagine a Western philosopher who paints his concepts, even because the act of *tracing concepts* as paintings seems to be possible only in the Far Eastern cultures thanks to their ideographic way of writing, whereas the choice for the reproduction of sounds through alphabetical signs in Ancient Greece seems to have led Western culture and its philosophy in a very different direction. So, what kind of necessity led Nishida to paint his concepts?

As provisional conclusion, I would like to suggest an answer: maybe it is because for Nishida to paint his concepts had the same "methodological" value of writing them in his books: to trace a concept by paint brush on paper was a way to probe its truth as "sign" of Absolute Nothingness through the bodily praxis of *becoming thing* (in a way maybe similar to the praxis of *ensō* (円相) paintings in *zen* Buddhism). Surely a logical method as *hōhō* is involved in Nishida's philosophy inside a praxis of thought, that yet opens to more inclusive praxes (for example artistic praxis), so that such a *hōhō* seems to possesses some feature of *sahō*. The open question remains for me to understand if for Nishida – paraphrasing Untersteiner on Parmenides – "the reality of a *sahō*-like *hodos* ends up with the creation of the awareness of Absolute Nothingness: the bodily practiced *sahō* allows the appearance of a bodily experienced Nothingness," one of the signs (*semata*) of which could be, for example, a

18 *Nishida Kitarō ibokushū [Collected Posthumous Ink Wash Paintings of Kitarō Nishida]* 西田幾多郎遺墨集 (Kyoto: Tōeisha 燈影舎, 1983), number 67.

concept traced as a work of art. The Western question of the relation between "philosophy" and "method" could then have found in Nishida a new and original way to be considered, and perhaps reformulated.

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"FEELINGS" AND THE "BACKGROUND" OF RATIONALITY

Nishida Kitarō and Schelling on integrating rationality and feelings[1]

Reception as a double-sided process

Reception is always a double-sided phenomenon. In reception processes both sides, the recipient and the giver, experience a sharpening of the ideas that are exchanged. This can contribute to a profound questioning of apparently fixed assumptions, again for both partners in the process of reception. Because there is no truly fixed frame of reference in such processes, one of the interesting challenges of studying processes of reception lies in the necessity to balance and constructively combine the fine-grained detail with the big picture. Reception studies are hindered rather than stimulated by sketching lines that are intended to make complex relations more easily accessible to readers from the other culture – given reception's double-sidedness, simplification always affects, and frequently negatively, both sides in this process. At the very least, the big lines, the sketches with the broad brush or the long ruler, need to be supplemented by more minuscule studies. In many cases, these will provide challenging test cases that put the great lines into sharper relief – one key advantage of small-scale studies is that they need to make fewer assumptions in order to get started.

1 This paper draws upon results of my research project "Thinking classified. Structuring the world of ideas around 1800." I am grateful for the support of NWO (The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research") for this project.

This is the kind of approach taken here. A small item is studied that occurs in both sides of a process that is held together by an explicit line of reception, that of giving the philosophy of German Idealism a place within Japanese philosophy. More precisely, the following paper studies an image, that of the sculptor and the block of marble, that is used by *Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling* (1775-1854) in his *Lectures on the History of Modern Philosophy* and by *Nishida Kitarō* (1870-1945) in a short essay from 1931 on "Goethe's metaphysical background."[2] Starting from this small detail means that the biography, personal and intellectual, of Nishida will not be taken into account, and neither do his indebtedness to the Zen tradition or the developments of his philosophical position play a foreground role in my analysis.[3] "Reception" is presented here not in terms of direct textual dependence.[4] Schelling is indeed part of a line of textual reception via Nishida's interest in German idealist philosophy. In the recent literature, it is emphasized that Nishida can even be understood as harmonizing Schellingian ideas with Buddhist traditions.[5] However, there is no trace of direct dependence with respect to this image. If anything, this makes the image in

2 Nishida Kitarō, 'Goethe's metaphysical background,' in: Nishida Kitarō, *Intelligibility and the Philosophy of Nothingness. Three Philosophical Essays*, trans. by Robert Schinzinger (Honolulu: East-West Center Press 1958), 144-159. On the translations of Nishida's texts, see John C. Maraldo, 'Translating Nishida,' *Philosophy East and West* 39 (1989), 465–496. Nishida's Goethe-essay is presented here as a rather insignificant "brief impressionistic piece written in 1931 with a minimum of metaphysical terminology" (p. 470); Maraldo emphasizes that the term "metaphysical" in the title is an interpolation by the translator.

3 On Nishida's biography, see Michiko Yusa, *Zen and Philosophy. An Intellectual Biography of Nishida Kitaro* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2002).

4 For a reading of Nishida's relationship to Western philosophy in strongly polarizing terms, see Robert Wilkinson, *Nishida and Western Philosophy* (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate 2009). An interestingly nuanced account is found in Robert E. Carter, *The Kyoto School. An Introduction* (Albany: SUNY Press 2013).

5 See, in particular, Jason M. Wirth, *The Conspiracy of Life. Meditations on Schelling and His Time* (Albany: SUNY Press 2003), 125–129. On the other hand, it is also stressed in the literature that Fichte and Hegel were probably of more direct influence on Nishida than Schelling; see Wilkinson, p. 154.

question even more freely available for intellectual discussion: None of the partners needs to argue with measured fairness with regard to the other line of tradition.

The important systematic question that the image of the sculptor and the marble allows one to address concerns the interaction between *direct* and *indirect* or *immediate* and *mediated* forms of cognition. For the historian of European philosophy, it is striking to see that philosophy frequently is demarcated and structured along a line that sets apart the realm of *feeling* and the realm of *reason*: Rationality and feeling seem to be profoundly different, and difficult to reconcile – and an opposition against rationalization is frequently taken as a characteristic of Japanese discussions of Western philosophy.[6] Looking at processes of reception can help us to understand how this kind of broad assumption as to the structuring of the field of philosophy as a whole functions, and which assumptions are at work here – assumptions that are frequently no longer consciously present in our daily practice.

A joint metaphor: Sculpting a marble block as a metaphor for pursuing knowledge

Both Nishida and Schelling employ the motive of a marble block that a sculptor transforms into a statue. While aesthetics provides a starting point in both cases, both Schelling and Nishida take this metaphor beyond an aesthetic context. In Nishida's case, his essay on "Goethe's metaphysical background" starts with a discussion of two different forms of time, the causal sequence flowing "from eternal past into eternal future" vs. an "eternal 'Now'" in which time is "contained" and that gives rise to "personality", "as content of eternity".[7] In Schelling's lectures

6 See, e.g., Yoshihiro Nitta/Hirotaka Tatematsu, *Japanese Phenomenology. Phenomenology as the Trans-cultural Philosophical Approach* (Dordrecht/Boston/London: Reidel 1979), p. 5: "The Japanese intellectuals of the time [the end of the 19th century] went in various directions, but they were all anti-enlightenment, antirational, antipositivistic, and anti-reductionistic.

7 Nishida, Background, p. 145.

on the history of modern philosophy, the context of this picture is an epistemological one; Schelling discusses the philosophy of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi as stimulating a discussion on the relationship between mediate and immediate knowledge, and between faith – also religious faith – and knowledge.[8]

The image of the sculptor and the block of marble is powerful for a number of reasons. It chimes in with the appreciation bestowed upon great works of art, both in the Western history of art where the unfinished (intentionally or not) statues of Michelangelo and Rodin belong to the most hailed works that are frequently seen as embodying a heroic spirit in art, and in Eastern traditions. Nishida himself draws attention to the aesthetic value of the unfinished and of the sheer presence of the material basis of an artwork. It is also powerful because it integrates the stability (as symbolized in the rock-hard marble, and in the durable final product of the sculpting process) with the more fleeting processual aspects of producing a work of art, and with the artist's quasi-mystical ability to somehow 'see' or 'feel' the future work of art in the raw matter.[9]

Schelling uses the image of the sculptor and the marble block to introduce a particular epistemic attitude, that of "Zuversicht,"[10] that integrates both a form of vision (as is suggested by the etymology of "Zuversicht", too) with a future-directed temporality in that "Zuversicht" is about a positive attitude towards events in the future. We might translate this term as the sculptor's "confidence," but note that in the German "Zuversicht," the fideistic connotation of "confidence" is lacking and rather replaced by a particular form of vision that is likened

8 Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. by Karl Friedrich August Schelling, vol. I, 10 (Stuttgart and Augsburg: Cotta 1861), p. 183. For a more extensive discussion of the context in the works of Schelling and in the discussion of his time, see Paul Ziche, '"Gefühl der unbeschreiblichen Realität jener höheren Vorstellungen" – Realismus und Religionsphilosophie um 1800,' *Religion und Religionen im Deutschen Idealismus. Schleiermacher – Hegel – Schelling*, ed. by Friedrich Hermann, Burkhard Nonnenmacher and Friederike Schick (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2015), 275–291.

9 On various forms and levels of "seeing" in Nishida, see Carter, p. 31–2.

10 Schelling, p. 183.

to the way how the artist sees the work of art in the raw block of marble. Nishida discusses the same image as an illustration of the role and accessibility of the "background" within which an artist positions her practice.[11] For Nishida, this "background" is associated with important metaphysical categories such as "eternity." In his concrete analysis of Goethe's poetry, Nishida then characterizes the background in yet other metaphorical categories, all of which relate the background to larger issues such as "humanity" that is "quasi-dissolved" in the background that, in a musical metaphor, functions as a "Resonanzboden," a "soundboard," for humanity.[12] Compared to the marble/statue image, in the case of a musical instrument there is less continuity between the material basis for producing sounds and those sounds themselves. But the instrument is just as necessary for producing sound, and resonance phenomena are also essential for perceiving sound.

Both usages of this image or metaphor share important features. Every concrete product (every work of art, but, more generally, also every act of cognition) needs to be placed into a *context*. This context is not external to what is located within it; it is not just an inert container, but provides the *material* for the specific product. The image of the sculpture shows that this background is indeed even more than that, as both Schelling and Nishida emphasize. We can appreciate this surplus by realizing that the marble used for a statue makes the production of art into an adventure: The production process can go wrong, the work in progress can all shatter into unrelated pieces, or maybe the final product does not agree with the artist's expectations. The background thus is both continuous *and* discontinuous with what is performed in, within, and by means of the background. In this close interaction between the background's function as

11 On Nishida's notion of "background" in an aesthetic context, see Iwaki Ken'ichi, 'Nishida Kitarō and Art,' in Michael F. Marra (ed. by), *A History of Modern Japanese Aesthetics* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2001), 259–284 (p. 266).

12 Nishida, *Background*, p. 146–7. See also p. 149 for another occurrence of auditory metaphors, that of a "Mitklingen.".

a material basis which might also be threatening, or at least is fundamentally opaque, this picture shows itself to be richer than a traditional reading of cognitive or artistic practices in terms of a hermeneutic contextualism. The process of producing art or cognition itself requires a medium that is not mere receptivity, but a robust, structured, brittle medium with, as it were, its own life. Cognition, just as the production of art, is thus revealed as an adventurous process full of surprises.

This means, in Nishida's terms, that this background is not something impersonal and that it cannot be understood in the terms traditionally applied to 'matter.' The marble used by the artist is "already an essential part of art."[13] One of Nishida's key claims is that this "background" can be characterized in a rather specific and highly personal fashion. While the notion of context seems to be intended to transcend the limitations of individuality, Nishida's background can, in a first step, be analyzed in terms that render the background specific for any great artist. This already indicates that the notion of "background" is at the same time general in the sense that we can meaningfully ascribe, and describe, a background no matter which particular form of art we are studying. Therefore, we cannot oppose an a- or impersonal background on the one hand and the personified concrete production of an artwork on the other.

Schelling strongly emphasizes a slightly different, yet related aspect of the image of the sculptor. He focuses on the kind of intellectual activity that is performed by the artist, and takes this as the model for cognition in general. In a sense, the work of art is already present when the artist sees it "in" the piece of marble. Also, it is meaningful to call this indeed an act of "seeing," although this is a strange, highly intellectual, but at the same time highly experience- and practice-based form of seeing. However, without the process of really producing the work of art, we could not say that it is "really" there. Real existence, and that is the point Schelling aims at, is only arrived at as the ultimate final product of an intricate and potentially inexhaustible

13 Nishida, *Background*, p. 145.

process of production. This is surprising, both metaphysically and epistemologically. In Schelling's analysis, one cannot start from reality as a basic fact, neither in processes of production nor in cognition. Reality is only there at the very end of these processes, and this holds, according to Schelling, again for the world of art in precisely the same sense as for the world of natural things insofar as these things are known to us. The true reality of, for example, an electron is not known to us before we have a truly exhaustive scientific theory about all aspects of sub-atomic particles (which we do not have at the moment). Still, it makes sense to say that the scientific researcher "sees" a reality that she cannot yet, by means of theory, grasp, in the same way as the artist "sees" a statue that is not yet there, and that may perhaps never come into existence.

This, again, fits nicely with Nishida's analysis of Goethe's background as inherently productive. Goethe, in Nishida's analysis, does not separate "eidos"/"form" and the more emotional dimensions; "For Goethe, there is no inward and no outward; everything is as it is; it comes from where there is nothing, and goes where there is nothing."[14] Nishida thus makes clear that the background is not a matter of feeling as opposed to formal structuring, of mysticism vs. science. If we want to describe this background, we have to take recourse to paradoxical descriptions, and might then characterize it as a mysticism *with* stable form, where the integration of both is brought about by the productive capacity of the background, via relations, not by rigid properties of the elements of reality. At this point, the link to Schelling and to Schelling's organological, dynamic account of nature is particularly clear.

"Feelings" in philosophy

The introduction to the English translation of Nishida's essay on Goethe operates with very clear distinctions that are presented

14 Nishida, *Background*, p. 157.

as being operative in contradistinguishing 'the West' and 'the East': Working out every detail in the West vs. consciously leaving certain things open in Eastern art by only hinting at what the artwork should convey (as in a drawing where the white paper, the background, can be an essential part of the work of art); Zen as based upon non-rational, immediate experience that, when described in these terms, is put into direct opposition to rational and discursive cognition that is taken to be prevalent in the West; individuality as a key value in the West vs. a far more positive view of depersonalization in Eastern traditions. It is clear, already from the sketch of the marble-and-artist-image, that these categories are of no real help: They fail to grasp what Nishida finds in Goethe, or what Schelling presents us with in his usage of the image of the sculptor and her material. Indeed, Schelling provides us with a fascinating illustration of the untenability of the feeling-rationality or the immediate-mediate opposition in the very heart of Western philosophy.

Epistemically, the category of "Zuversicht," the form of visual confidence that Schelling ascribes to the artist, is particularly interesting. It is weaker than "conviction" and stronger than "belief," but also vice versa: in its being directed towards the future, it goes beyond even what present conviction can give us, and in being impossible to give precisely delineated content, it is even more vague than a mere belief. It seems related to epistemic (and moral!) attitudes such as "hope" in not having a content that can be put in clear propositional terms, and it has, despite this immanent openness, a rather strong subjective binding force.[15] Clearly, a future-directed confidence cannot be exhausted completely by discursive rational thinking, but just as clearly it also is more than a mere impression or an unshaped feeling.

At this point, the issue of feeling enters into Schelling's analysis of human rationality, and in a similar way it is also present in Nishida's discussion of the "background." In Schelling, as in quite a number of other philosophers around 1800, the

15 On this type of epistemic notions, with reference to Kant, see Deryck Beyleveld and Paul Ziche, 'Towards a Kantian Phenomenology of Hope,' *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* (2015), 927–942.

peculiar epistemic properties of "Zuversicht"/"confidence" and other, similar notions become summarized under the label of "*higher feelings*."[16] These feelings are no longer immediate and impenetrable in the sense of being lower than, or prior to, cognition, as the material basis for higher cognition. Rather, they are "higher" in the sense that they come at the end of the cognitive process, are more refined, richer and more complex, and thus point beyond discursive accessibility. If they can be called immediate, and thus can still be seen as feelings, this is because they are impenetrable by virtue of their supreme richness and complexity. While this sounds like a derived property that, therefore, can no longer be immediate, Schelling continues to maintain that we can still experience these complex events in a direct, unanalyzable fashion – just as the sculptor directly "sees" the statue in the marble, but clearly, what he here perceives is a highly complex artwork, and this kind of perception is possible only because of her extended experience and training within art, his acquaintance with the material properties of marble, and with the mechanical process of getting the statue out of the marble.

A philosophy that accepts the quest for "higher feelings" shares important ideas with classical empiricism, but again not in the sense that we could start from simple facts. Rather, we need a "higher empiricism" whose facts come at the end of the scientific endeavour. This "higher" empiricism, then, is no longer hostile with respect to religion (religion can be reconstructed as the domain of higher feelings, as, for instance, in Friedrich Schleiermacher's philosophy of religion) and to art. It can also forge a link to movements such as phenomenology and existentialism: philosophical movements in which the irreducible complexity of basic experiences is taken as the fundamental

16 Compare this also to the insistence, in Schelling and other authors of this period, that we have to develop "higher" forms of empiricism and of realism; see Paul Ziche, '"Höherer Empirismus." Passive Wissenschaft, letzte Tatsachen und experimentelle Philosophie bei F.W.J. Schelling', *Internationales Jahrbuch des Deutschen Idealismus/International Yearbook of German Idealism* 8 (2010), 165–184.

starting-point. Finally, it is also akin to reconstructions of the practice of the sciences in terms of the creativity of the scientist.[17]

Whence the feeling-rationalism opposition?

The case study presented here asks for further elaboration, not only in terms of Schelling's "intellectual intuition" and Nishida's "pure experience,"[18] but also by studying in more detail Nishida's key notion of "*basho"*/"place" that he started to give more and more prominence in his thinking from the 1920s onwards. This notion precisely fits Schelling's discussion of "construction" in terms of a "medium" "in" which, and with which, a concrete item of cognition has to be placed.[19] While Schelling's account of construction is clearly inspired by Kant's conviction that it is possible to apriorically spatialize concepts from geometry, he at the same time generalizes the notion of spatiality to the most comprehensive medial embedding of individual cognitions. The notion of space also fits the marble-sculptor-image: The marble is the place where the artwork already is, but it is directly clear that this place is a far richer,

17 For a strong statement to the same effect, see Kitarō Nishida, 'Affective Feeling,' Nitta/Tatematsu (eds.), 223–247 (p. 223): "I reply that the affective feeling of a sensitive artist is not necessarily less clear to him than the special knowledge of a scientist."

18 On this line of comparison, see Wirth.

19 See Paul Ziche, 'Das System als Medium. Mediales Aufweisen und deduktives Ableiten bei Schelling,' *System und Systemkritik um 1800*, in: Christian Danz and Jürgen Stolzenberg (eds.), *System und Systemkritik um 1800* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner 2011), 147–168. On an introduction into Nishida's logic of space, see Yusa 202–209; see also the introduction of John W.M. Krummel to Nishida Kitarō 'The Unsolved Issue of Consciousness,' *Philosophy East and West* 62 (2012), 44–59; here, it is also emphasized that Nishida's logic of "place" also relates to the problem of passivity in cognition that has been a key problem in all discussions on the role of feeling. – Another relevant line of comparison between Schelling and Nishida should concern Nishida's analysis of the relationship between subjects and predicates in judgements, with his claim that "reality" is the "true grammatical subject" (p. 47). The related question in Schelling is Schelling's insistence that identity judgements point towards an underlying level of reality that is (in an active sense of "is") both what the subject and what the predicate in a judgement is.

and far more difficult to grasp, entity than just a geometric location.

I have presented the shared image of the marble and the sculptor as a paradigm for reconstructing reception processes. There is one clear objection: This picture is not explicitly part of the reception process in which Nishida critically appropriated ideas from Western philosophy. The thrust of my argument is that this is rather an advantage of this miniscule item in what clearly is far larger process of intellectual exchange. One of the key results that an analysis of this picture can yield, is a critical restriction of *dualist* ideas, and that on many levels. The dualist assumption that strongly pervades the (itself rather recent, and in these terms only Kantian) sub-division of the field of philosophy into a reason-centered and a perception-("feeling", experience-) based form of philosophy is explicitly subverted by Schelling's claim for a 'higher' empiricism. With the very same arguments, the opposition between a dualist Western tradition and an anti-dualist and, therefore, also rationalism-opposed Eastern tradition needs to be questioned. In both cases, we see that some large-scale interpretations of how the field of philosophy is organized are operative, but we also see that precisely these interpretations are problematic.

Taken together, this leads to a pressing question: Why are we so inclined to think in terms of a neat opposition between rationality and emotions? Why this quest for clear sub-divisions? And how are the established sub-divisions dealt with in reception processes? Reception processes (that we, then, should rather call processes of mutual discussion) indeed are a good means to free oneself from these guidelines that are so deeply entrenched within, in this case, European philosophy (even if some of the most important protagonists, in this case Schelling and Goethe, explicitly refuse to think in these patterns). There is a strong constructivist tendency to this approach: but not so much in the sense that reception always constructs that what is received together with the receptacle taking up the received idea; studying reception processes is a particularly potent way to unveil the constructions inherent in the more homely traditions, too.

Again, these questions cannot really be answered here. Many decisions work together to produce the opposition feeling-rationality: A model of feelings that takes instincts, subjective taste, direct emotions as the paradigm and consequently opposes these "lower" layers in humans to the forms of higher control; in parallel with that, an understanding of science as based upon atomistically simple facts and experiences; assumptions about the mutual relationship between artists, scientists, religion, and much more; a reconstruction of the history of Western philosophy at large, and many more such factors. These all get re-assessed in the simple, yet complex move towards embracing the idea of complex feelings.

Nishida's analysis of the "background" and Schelling's usage of the idea of "higher" feelings, however, subvert this polar picture. Taken together, they get even stronger: Reception processes can shake lose traditional convictions far more efficiently than an author working within a tradition itself. In a sense, studying processes of reception can bring the interpreter back into a theory in its *status nascendi*, but with all the benefits (and without at least some of the difficulties) that come with hindsight.

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DOES "TASTE" MATTER IN HISTORY?

Making sense of the senses as reflected in Japan's modern alcoholic transition

The possibilities for a History of Taste

What is taste anyway? Taste as an analytical category is a most elusive concept. Taste, just like beauty, simply appears to be in the eyes of the beholder. Standard English language dictionaries like *Merriam-Webster* or *Oxford* define taste as (1) the ability of a person to discern what is of good quality or (2) more specifically the flavor perceived in the mouth of food and drinks. When the first definition is applied to tastes in the arts and literature, it may be understood as a marker of cultural refinement and social distinction. On the more mass level of modern consumer culture, one's taste in housing, clothes, or nutrition creates bonds or boundaries between people at certain localities or across distant regions. Moreover, there is also the common observation that tastes may change over the lifetime of an individual and preferences shift within larger collective social entities. Whatever the particular taste a person has or professes to have, it acquires social, cultural, and political meaning within larger frames of reference.

Taste and Japan seem to be a natural pair of words in the West. For centuries the country has projected an image of cultural sophistication while inspiring waves of cultural excitement in the modernizing West that was collecting arts and crafts from Japan and included a *japonism* (ジャポニスム) perspective in its avant-garde paintings. In more recent decades, "Japanese tastes" have become widespread and ubiquitous throughout the

world. More than probably any other country, Japan has acquired the global reputation for a high quality and sophisticated cuisine with *washoku* (和食 'Japanese food') appraised as a UNESCO intangible cultural property and multi-course and expensive *kaiseki ryori* (会席料理) savored by foreign connoisseurs. The rise of Tokyo as the world's culinary capital is documented in its acquiring of more Michelin stars than Paris and London combined and at the level of mass dining in the fact that Japanese "running" sushi (寿司) has become the high-end culinary challenge to the stereotypical American hamburger joint. Needless to say, metropolitan locations like Berlin do feature many Asian dining spots aspiring to attain an up-market standing by using Japanese-sounding names and ingredients. There even traditional European dishes with a Japanese touch such as *crêpes à la japonaise* prove to be widely popular with customers.

Readers familiar with Asia may wonder about Japanese tastes in a different way. Sweet, bitter, salty and sour have long been considered the basic qualities of taste recognized by the human tongue. In 1908, the Japanese chemistry professor Kikunae Ikeda (池田菊苗, 1864-1936) proposed a fifth taste, which he named *umami* after the Japanese word for delicious *(umai*, 美味い). Then he identified glutamic acid in Japanese soup stock from *konbu* (昆布) as producing a distinctive savory flavor, and only in recent years have molecular biologists discovered tongue receptors for this cleavage product of proteins.[1]Ikeda's discoveries generated MSG (monosodium glutamate), marketed by the Ajinomoto (essence of taste) corporation as an industrial taste enhancer, first in Japan and then later elsewhere. Its widespread popularity in Chinese food was followed by a backlash in the United States where the alleged side effects of its consumption became known as the "Chinese Restaurant Syndrome."[2] In the twenty-first century, this taste discovered in Japan is becoming rehabilitated and trendy restaurants chains such as California-founded Umami Burger with

1 Bernd Lindeman, Yoko Ogiwara, Yuzo Ninomiya, 'The Discovery of Umami', *Chem. Senses*, 27 (2002), 843–44.

2 Jordan Sand, 'A Short History of MSG: Good Science, Bad Science, and Taste Cultures', *Gastronomica*, 5.4 (2005), 38–49.

wagyū beef (和牛) have even acquired trademark rights for use of the word "umami" (うま味 or simply まみ). Recently a Japanese brewery has taken to writing the word *umami* in Latin letters over the Chinese character for draft beer (*nama* 生) on its beer cans for its leading premium Malt's brand (Fig. 1)

Fig. 1 Suntory: The Malt's

This essay maintains that taste just like other more tangible historical properties is subject to interpretation, contestation, and change. It approaches the problem of the history of taste by exploring the introduction of Western alcoholic beverages to Japan as seen through beer. Beer in its conventional European definition is a brew with the ingredients of barley, hops, and water. Sake fermented from rice is best known overseas as Japan's traditional alcoholic beverage and is often translated as rice wine into English.[3] Sake (酒) spoils easily in warmer regions like Kyushu and Okinawa and there distilled liquors like *shōchū* (焼酎), made for example from potatoes, were imbibed more frequently in the early modern period. Nevertheless, today the most common Japanese drink is beer despite the frequent Japanese designation of sake as *Nihonshu* (日本酒, Japanese alcohol). This massive shift in consumption over time was facilitated by an emerging brewing industry leading to the contemporary giant corporations

3 The famous 1516 Bavarian purity law defined beer. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* defines a beer more broadly as a fermented substance produced from starch and it thus includes *sake* as an example of a beer.

of Kirin (麒麟 or キリン), Asahi (アサヒ) and Sapporo (サッポロ). Western publications have already focused on the industrial development of the Japanese beer industry.[4] Others authors also explored beer consumption.[5] The question remains: What has taste got to do with it? Let us review three hypotheses on the history of beer taste with evidence from the Meiji period when Japanese first explored and experimented with beer taste.

1. *Hypothesis: Taste did not Matter – Imitation of Civilization*

The first recorded impressions by Japanese – widely reported in later corporate histories – were far from encouraging. They imbibed beer reluctantly and later characterized the drink as "bitter," "magic water," or just "like horse piss" (*uma no ibari*, 馬の尿). Alcohol made from barley, now known in Japanese as *bīru* (ビール or 麦酒), was then referred to as *biya* (ビヤ), *mugizake* (麦酒), or *bakushu* (same Kanji, different pronunciation). Japanese scholars of Dutch studies who had the occasion to drink beer characterized it as "without taste." A further step in the introduction of beer in Japan was the arrival of the American fleet with Commodore Matthew Perry who is reported to have brought three American-made barrels "of earthen-colored foamy alcohol" as a gift.[6] His

4 Jeffrey W. Alexander, *Brewed in Japan: The Evolution of the Japanese Beer Industry* (Vancouver; Toronto: UBC Press, 2013); Harald Fuess, 'Genesis and Growth of Beer Corporations in Pre-War Japan', in *Institutional and Technological Change in Japan's Economy Past and Present*, ed. by Janet Hunter and Cornelia Storz (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 43–59; Joseph Alphonse Laker, 'Entrepreneurship and the Development of the Japanese Beer Industry, 1872-1937', 1975; Harald Fuess, 'Aufbau der Bierindustrie in Japan während der Meiji-Zeit (1868-1912): Konsum, Kapital und Kompetenz', *Bochumer Jahrbuch*, 27 (2003), 231–67.

5 Penelope Francks, 'Inconspicuous Consumption: Sake, Beer, and the Birth of the Consumer in Japan', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 2009; Penelope Francks, *The Japanese Consumer: An Alternative Economic History of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

6 Kirin Bīru, *Kirin Bīru Kabushiki Gaisha 50 nenshi* [*The Fifty-year History of Kirin Beer, Ltd.*] 『麒麟麦酒株式会社五十年史』 (Tokyo: Kirin Bīru Kabushiki Gaisha麒麟麦酒株式会, 1957), pp. 2, 4, Tokyo; Yūzō Miyake 三宅勇三, *Biiru kigyōshi* [*The History of the Beer Industry*] 『ビール企業

major contribution to beer history is however to have initiated the process of opening Japan to foreign trade, culture, and taste.

The core bridgeheads of Western alcoholic cultures in Asia and Japan became the treaty ports. The main centers of Western lifestyle and entertainment in Japan were Yokohama from 1859 and Kobe from 1868. Alcohol played a crucial role in the social life of Western men in the late nineteenth century treaty ports, more so perhaps than in international harbors elsewhere. Already at its inception Yokohama included Miyozakichō (港崎町) a designated licensed quarter built by the Japanese government with brothels and entertainment facilities especially targeting foreign men. Until 1875 Yokohama also hosted a military garrison of British and French troops, while the town attracted numerous ships of sailors of multiple nationalities who looked for means of recreation when on land leave. Multiple establishments in the Foreign Settlement, from cheap inns to a respectable Grand Hotel, all served Western drinks to their foreign guests. The dependence of these local drinking facilities on their seaborne customers is expressed in a *Japan Punch* cartoon lampooning an imaginary protest of the grog shop owners when no fleet arrived. The small resident community of foreigners was heavily populated by men and their foremost elite social institution, the club, was the all-male place of substantial ritualized drinking. A brewery granted a 10 percent sales discount to Yokohama's heavy-drinking German Club "Germania" and supported several foreign clubs, such as regatta, rowing, and baseball clubs, with prize money.[7] Beer halls or beer gardens also existed in these ports. Kobe was known in East Asia for numerous tea houses, gambling houses, and brothels, under the names of Happy Garden, the China Dog, or Back of Beyond.[8] The treaty port press incessantly reported on consular courts cases with drunken soldiers and sailors causing trouble by ending up in brawls.

史』 (Tokyo: Mitakisha 三滝社, 1977), pp. 17–18.

7 Kirin Brewery Corporate Archive, JBM 18901016.

8 Peter Ennals, *Opening a Window to the West: The Foreign Concession at Kōbe, Japan, 1868-1899*, Japan and Global Society, 5 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2014), pp. 175–76, 156.

Western newspapers summarized the typical consular court cases as "intempestuously bellicose 'Jack ashore' generally figures as the dolefully interested party" or "Jack's inimical hosts … denizens of the Honmura road and its vicinity."[9] This heavy drinking culture took its toll on the health of men high and low. The German Louis Kniffler, who founded a thriving merchant house in Nagasaki and Yokohama, is said to have suffered from a liver disease later in life induced by his habitual drinking in Japan. Even within the Western port community, the centrality of alcohol for social life was not beyond dispute and in order to combat the perception of widespread drunkenness foreign residents founded a Temperance Hall in Yokohama in 1873.

Treaty ports displayed Western alcoholic culture and introduced a range of exotic drink tastes to Japanese who could afford the trial. After all, Japanese residents and visitors quickly outnumbered foreigners in these ports. Alcohol imports to Japan included bottles of wine, whiskey, gin, grog, and hogsheads of beer. Some Japanese exposed to foreign lifestyles who tried beer may have liked it. The American merchant Francis Hall offered beer at a picnic to a "native," who is said to have "sipped, smacked his lips, turned up one eye," and exclaimed: "it tastes good.'"[10] Moreover beer often took on new properties in the Japanese social context. "Wine, beer, and other medicines," was a Yokohama sign a British woman noticed with bemusement.[11] Indeed beer was sold at miscellaneous outlets including pharmacies and it comes as no surprise that Japanese referred to beer as "as bitter and as bad-tasting as medicine."[12] Until the mid-Meiji period Japanese commentary repeatedly

9 *Tokyo Times* 1878.

10 Francis Hall and Fred G. Notehelfer, *Japan through American Eyes: The Journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama, 1859-1866*, ed. by Cleveland Public Library (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 96.

11 Hugh Cortazzi, *Victorians in Japan: In and around the Treaty Ports* (London: Athlone Press, 1987), p. 338.

12 Kirin Bīru, *Bīru to Nihonjin: Meiji Taishō Shōwa bīru fukyūshi* [*Beer and the Japanese people: The History of the Spread of Beer in the Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa Periods*]『ビールと日本人：明治．大正．昭和ビール普及史』(Tokyo: Sanseidō 三省堂, 1983).

referred to the rather strong bitterness of the brew. This theme had already been recorded by members of the Tokugawa mission to the United States in 1860: "Bitter but enough to moisten the throat."[13] Japanese tried beer but drunk it more *despite* than *because* of its taste as a symbol of progress and modernity. However, the treaty port community was ambivalent about including Japanese people in its consumer culture and ridiculed the courageous who transgressed the boundaries of traditional Japanese taste. In 1872 the British *Japan Punch* drew the image of a parrot with "Young Japan" written on its wings with a chunk of beef and a bottle of beer. The caption read: "Portrait of a foolish bird who thought he could become a man by eating beef and drinking beer" (Fig. 2). Japan was not yet seen as ready for full-fledged membership in the beer hall of civilization and enlightenment.

2. *Hypothesis: Taste is Selective – Suitable to Hot Climates*

Fig. 2 Portrait of a Foolish Bird (Japan Punch 1872)

13 Kirin Bīru, *Bīru to Nihonjin*, p. 4.

In the 1880s, Japanese people increasingly discovered that beer came in different varieties. The predominantly British and American treaty port communities in Japan imbibed ales, porters, and stouts. In the mid-1880s, more than half of the beer volume came from Great Britain and a quarter from Germany, while American and French beers were marginal. From 1884 imports jumped up dramatically with German beer imports alone expanding ten times in the next five years.[14] As demand grew exponentially without a major increase in the size of the foreign community, the new drinkers must have been Japanese. What in Japan became known as German-style beer was a relatively new kind even elsewhere: the lager-type. This beer brewed in a bottom-fermenting process invented in the early nineteenth century required a longer period of storage called *lagern* in German, thus the name of lager for this beer.

Taste was a crucial factor in the incipient Japanese consumer decision. In 1896 the *Jiji shinpo* (時事新報) newspaper attributed the demand for German-style lager beer to the fact that "it was less bitter and had a strikingly sweet taste."[15] Even *The New York Times* noted the change in Japanese palates and the ensuing beer craze: "Japanese in large cities seem to take to lager like Prussians."[16] Japanese consumer preferences did not benefit German merchants in Yokohama or Kobe. By the end of the 1880s the beer import market suddenly collapsed and unsold stockpiles of German beer accumulated. German consuls warned against further imports, especially of those "light and cheap beers meant for Japanese consumption."[17] Taste had not reverted back again. The shift to lager beer in Japan was permanent and lasts to this day. It is still the core offering of the big industrial brewers. Even 95 percent of all

14 Tsutomu Ushigome 牛米勉, *Meijiki no tamagawa ryūiki ni okeru bīrugyō no kenkyū* [Research about the Beer Industry in the River Basin of Tamagawa during Meiji Period]『明治期の多摩川流域におけるビール業の研究』(Tokyo: Tōkyū kankyō jōka zaidanとうきゅう環境浄化財団, 1997), p. 5.

15 Kirin Bīru, *Bīru to Nihonjin*, p. 302.

16 *New York Times*, 1 March 1896.

17 *Deutsches Handels-Archiv. Zeitschrift für Handel Und Gewerbe*, 1889, p. 632.

craft breweries offer the Pilsner-type beers that is a modern variety of the old lager-style.[18] In fact, the import trend in the 1880s had indicated a potential market for an entire new industry that became established as joint stock breweries in Japan from the 1880s onwards. All the surviving firms of these foundation boom years had one feature in common, namely the choice of lager as their main beer type. The largest breweries hired German master brewers and technicians and imported German equipment and ingredients. Only a few, however, went as far as the Sapporo "steam beer brewery," which attached German-language labels to their bottles in a quest for authenticity.[19]

Important Japanese figures who later took leadership positions in government, military, and universities became exposed to the German beer-drinking culture while studying in Germany. Upon their return home they acted as role models for modern elite masculinity. The army doctor and writer Mori Ōgai as a student in Munich was so fascinated by beer that he conducted a scientific experiment published in 1887 in the German medical journal *Archiv für Hygiene*. He examined how his beer drinking affected his urine discharge as "a Japanese, 26 years-old…55 kilogram of weight." He recorded his daily beer intake and checked whether eating breakfast made a difference. He compared his results with the diuretic effect of other alcoholic drinks such as wines and controlled for "the racial factor" by having two Bavarian men and one other Japanese man join him in the exercise.[20] A recent book on Ōgai and German beer shows how notorious his love of beer has become in Japan.[21] More conventional experiences

18 Mark Meli, *Craft Beer in Japan: The Essential Guide* (Yokohama: Bright Wave Media , 2013).

19 Harald Fuess, 'Genesis and Growth of Beer Corporations in Pre-War Japan', in *Institutional and Technological Change in Japan's Economy Past and Present*, ed. by Janet Hunter and Cornelia Storz (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 43–59.

20 Rintaro Mori, 'Ueber die Diuretische Wirkung des Biers', *Archiv fuer Hygiene*, 1887, 359–407 (p. 355).

21 Mitsuru Murakami 村上満, *Bīru denrai: Mori Ōgai to Doitsu bīru* [The Introduction of Beer: Mori Ōgai and German Beer]『麦酒伝来：森鷗外と

were to simply enjoy rituals of beer consumption with German students and soldiers, practices which many Japanese then brought home. The 70 members of the "Berlin Beer Society" (ベルリン麦酒会) in Tokyo consumed more than 250 liters at one of their events, as a newspaper duly reported in 1893, and other Germanophile groups of Japanese returnees also emerged around that time.[22] A photograph was taken of a later meeting of the group and published with the names of their members reading like a who's who of the Japanese elite (Fig. 3). Nogi Maresuke (乃木希典, 1849-1912), heroic leader of the Russo-Japanese War, was one of the most conspicuous Japanese figures with both an admiration for Germany, which he visited for a year and a half, and a taste for beer drinking. When he headed an officer training school, he ordered graduates to engage in beer drinking competitions, which he is often known to have won.[23] Sometimes influential returnees even forced changes in local consumption patterns. A group of university professors in Kyoto supported the establishment of a beer hall with tap beer, which they had become accustomed to "from their experience in Germany."[24] Japanese male elites were on the way to acquiring a taste for beer within their own social contexts and going beyond mere imitation of foreign behavior. The importance of this shift in domestic consumption to Japanese consumers is reflected in the fact that the foreign directors of Kirin beer ordered in 1903 an end to placing advertisements in Western-language newspapers in Japan as they no longer expected any sales benefits from such commercials.[25]

ドイツビール』(Osaka: Sōgensha創元社, 2006).

22 Ōsaka Asahi Shinbun (6 July 1893).

23 Kirin Bīru, *Bīru to Nihonjin*, pp. 129-132.

24 *Ost-Asien* (1899), 370.

25 Kirin Brewery Corporate Archive, JBM 19030324.

Fig. 3 Berlin Beer Society in Tokyo with banners saying "Yebisu Beer" (1898)[26]

3. *Taste is Transformed – Blending into New Consumer Identities*

As Japanese men selected Lager beer as their favorite drink over international alcoholic alternatives, Japanese breweries tested varieties of beers and gave it a range of meanings. What they never talked about in public was the hidden trade secret and mystery ingredient: "rice inside." This is remarkable since one would assume that this kind of local adaptation would have been welcomed by Japanese people with a taste for drinking rice-based sake. Moreover, the hegemonic brewery of the first half of the twentieth century, the Greater Japan Brewery (Dai Nippon Beer, 大日本麦酒) established through a merger in 1906 after the Russo-Japanese war, emphasized how it distinguished itself by brewing a truly Japanese beer without the help of foreign experts or the need for foreign ingredients. Rice never became an

26 *Ost-Asien* (1898), 150-151 (Kana as shown on the flag).

officially advertised part of Japanese national beer taste. Even the brewery that towards the end of the Meiji period most emphasized its German beer authenticity included rice in its brew. In 1902 the managers of Kirin fired Carl Kayser, its German master brewer. Kayser had increased the relative percentage of rice among the ingredients from 23.90% to 26.86% while reducing the amount of malt and hops. The outcome were beer batches that turned bad when the retailer Meidi-Ya (明治屋, pronounced "meiji-ya") sold them on the Tokyo market. An attempt at economic cost cutting by substituting too much cheaper rice for expensive barley had clearly backfired.[27] Japan was not the only country in the brewing world experimenting with and adapting rice. Adolphus Busch in Amerika added rice to Budweiser to set it apart from other lagers.[28] Budweiser beer on its labels today proudly boasts about rice as one of its quality ingredients and its corporate website claims that rice contributes to the "beer's crisp, clean taste." Anheuser-Busch now is the largest buyer of rice in the United States.[29] What was unique about Meiji Japan was that brewers not only added rice but remained silent about their innovation of taste. The image of rice was not compatible with the expected taste of a beer as a Western beverage, especially due to its strong cultural and culinary association with sake that remained the dominant drink until the mid-twentieth century.[30]

In Japan, beer drinking became a marker of middle class metropolitan male tastes more than in Europe. By 1926 over a dozen bottles per capita were drunk annually in Tokyo and Osaka, while in about 30 rural prefectures less than 2 bottles

27 Kirin Brewery Corporate Archive, Minutes of a Special Meeting of Directors held at the Brewery Offices at 3.30 p.m. on Wednesday 18th June 1902.

28 Donna R. Gabaccia, 'As American as Budweiser and Pickels: National-Building in American Food Industries', in *Food Nations*, ed. by Warren James Belasco (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 175–202 (p. 180.)..

29 Anheuser-Busch.com, 'Quality Ingredients | Anheuser-Busch.com' <http://anheuser-busch.com/index.php/our-heritage/commitment-to-quality/ingredients-and-brewmaster-tastings/> [accessed 28 June 2016].

30 In the community of brewers, it was known that the *koku* (コク) crisp taste of the bestselling Asahi Super Dry (アサヒスーパードライ) was due to the addition of rice to make the drink taste more like sake.

were sold per person. The five large-scale National Industrial Exhibitions in the major cities promoted beer drinking broadly among their visitors and by the turn of the century breweries opened beer restaurants in bustling locations like the Ginza Lion (銀座ライオン), tracing its existence back to 1899 and with its 1930s beer hall a major tourist attraction. Summer festivals of all kinds became common occasions for quenching thirst in the hot season with slow sales throughout autumn and winter despite the promotion of New Year's beer specials. Advertisements in newspapers and the ubiquitous colorful posters with famous actresses to be hung up in drinking places invoked the taste of Japan's urbane culture of male conviviality spiced up by the figures of female waitresses in sprawling drinking establishments known as the café. Imbibing beer was no longer confined to professors with overseas experience, Japanese male students at higher schools in Tokyo cheered themselves and their professors with drinking songs. The reasons that neither the worldwide temperance movement nor World War I had a visible negative effect on this emerging urban beer culture was that such tastes were neither associated with working class drinking behaviors nor with the cultural habits associated with a wartime enemy with a threateningly large group of migrants like in the United States. By contrast, in Japan beer became the drink of moderation for the modern middle-class man to replace traditional sake that, with its high alcoholic content, "clouded the mind."[31]

Consumer experiments with beer showed a lingering connection with the exotic, but also the establishment a common drinking pattern of alcohol consumption accompanied by eating. A wife of a Kyoto pharmacist in her diary noted for a day in June 1910, "we went 'modern'" and entertained her father and husband "with München beer and bananas" and when a guest dropped in he had just been treated "to a lot of beer" by a teacher of the local Higher School.[32] In the modern age populated by

31 The Japanese Minister to Germany Aoki Shūzō compared both drinks when he promoted the establishment of a government brewery in Sapporo.

32 Makiko Nakano, Kazuko Smith, *Makiko's Diary: A Merchant Wife in 1910 Kyoto* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), p. 20, 149, 156.

"modern girls" and "modern boys" beer accompanied other "modern" foods. A slogan of the age was to have beer as "a drink for an evening meal" (*banshaku ni bīru*, 晩酌にビール).[33] Famous Japanized dishes of Western origins in the Taishō hybrid cuisine, were potato croquettes (*korokke,* コロッケ), curry rice (then called *risu karee*, リスカレー), and fried pork cutlet (*tonkatsu,* 豚カツ). A popular song from a comedy poked fun of the modern housewife whose cooking skills were limited to preparing *korokke* day in and day out.[34] Beer also lubricated hybrid dishes including rice meals, which were considered more Japanese. Cultural acceptance of beer can be traced back to the late Meiji years. Fukuzawa Yukichi (福澤諭吉, 1835-1901) in his 1901 autobiography marvels at the rapid Westernization of his countrymen. As evidence he points to the common usage of the "English" alphabet on consumer products. Even on the labels of beer bottles, he said, the brand names were written in such way.[35] The foreign taste and overseas origins of beer seemed no longer worth mentioning. 'Nutritious and healthy' but more often 'wholesome and delicious' were the standard attributes for beer in advertisements. When an export brewery in the port of Moji asked the rhetorical question if one still believed that "Japanese beer was tasteless (*mazui*, 不味い)," this was meant as an invitation to try the delicious (*umai*) Sakura beer (Fig. 4, Kanji as shown in the right-hand bottom line), expecting that it would meet the customers' taste expectations.

33 Asahi Bīru, *Asahi 100* (Tokyo: Asahi Bīru アサヒビール, 1990), p. 219.

34 Masatoshi Takada, 'Naissance et évolution de la cuisine occidentale japonisée', *Ebisu*, 35 (2006), 66–72.

35 Yukichi Fukuzawa, *The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa*, ed. & trans. by Eiichi Kiyooka, Unesco Collection of Representative Works (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 22.

Fig. *4* Nippon no bīru wa mazui

Aftertaste of History: From Intellectual Appetizer to a Broader Research Menu

The history of taste remains an elusive concept open to various perceptions and interpretations but like so many other better studied historical variables it is subject to historical change and discursive contestations. The breweries themselves have been indulging in taste nostalgia and attempted to convince contemporary customers that they were willing and able to scientifically reproduce the taste of their own forgone past. Kirin Beer since 1998 has intermittently offered historical beers as Meiji-era lager with 1888 label and a Taisho-era pilsner with an art design dating to a 1906 celebration of Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War. A Western CNN journalist praised the taste of both recreations sold in the postwar innovation of the beer can: "Beer must have been pretty good back in the day." He specifies:

> Formula-wise, the Lager sticks to pure malt and hops, while the Pilsener adds rice to the mix. The taste of the Meiji Lager is top-notch: rich and slightly bitter without infringing on the refreshment. The Taisho Pilsner is closer to today's Kirin flavor -- a little hoppy and sour, but with a cereal richness at its core. You can almost taste the liberal democracy.[36]

Transcultural theories offer several expressions to deal with cultural translations such as explaining the process and outcome of what commonly has been referred to as the Westernization of taste in Japan.[37] This essay identified three patterns of how the Japanese changed their attitude to what was the foreign taste of beer in the Meiji period: rejection, selection, and appropriation through transformation. Within the conventional categories of taste there was a shift from "bitter" to "sweet" as the beverage moved from a luxurious item for foreigners and the Japanese elite to a middle-class drink for special

36 'Kirin Beer's Two Historical Recreations | CNN Travel' <./> [accessed 28 June 2016].

37 Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2009).

occasions. It is only in the postwar economic boom period that it finally became a commodity for mass consumption for men and women in public and at home, despite what observers have called an entrenched conservatism of taste among the Japanese population. What this history of taste suggests that it would be useful to overcome popular categories of beverage and culinary history along the standard lines of the intrusion of Western food (*yōshoku*, 洋食) and the resistance of Japanese food or the influence of Western alcoholic beverages (*yōshu*, 洋酒) and the retention of Japanese sake as *nihonshu*.[38] Imported Beer recreated according to German brewing ideals was transformed in Japan as the ubiquitous alcoholic drink of choice. Beer is the true *nihonshu* of today. It is with raising one's glass of beer that one opens a large social gathering in Japan with loud shouts of (*kampai*, 乾杯) and a clapping round of applause. Beer has now become fully Japanese in taste as well as cultural and social context.

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JAPAN STUDIES IN THE NETHERLANDS: JAPAN AS TEXTS, JAPAN AS PEOPLE

The inspiration for the "How to Learn" conference held in Florence in October 2015 is Tohoku University's establishment of the Hasekura League, and in that connection its preparations towards the establishment of a new graduate program in Japan studies. Against that background I would very briefly like to review the Dutch history of academic Japan studies, one that is, I think, fairly typical for older academic institutions, and see what we may learn from that. I will sketch how in the Netherlands scholars have thought about 'Japan' in the past and today. From this glance towards the past I would then like to look forward and suggest what this may mean for the future. The movement that describes this development of 'Japan' as object of academic inquiry may be seen as a movement from humanities towards social sciences. Consequently, partly as a strategy in positioning 'Japan studies' within early twenty-first century academia, 'Japan' as object has increasingly become a method as much as an object of study.

In its earlier stages, within the academic tradition of the humanities, the study of Japan in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe focused on the analysis of documents. In this sense, we may say that once 'Japan' existed primarily as text. Thinking about Japan implied a philological approach to knowledge, and consequently 'Japanology' was a text-based field of expertise. From the middle of the twentieth century until the present, texts from and about Japan remained important (we see among other developments the rise of translations of works of literature). Even so, thinking about 'Japan' more and more involved interacting

with people in and from Japan. In that sense, we may say that thinking about 'Japan' more and more became a question of putting people before texts.

As is well known, the Netherlands was for a long time Japan's only European trade partner. From 1641 onwards, the Dutch trading post was located on the artificial island of Dejima in Nagasaki. It was through this so-called "window on the world" that reports about Europe entered Japan, but attempts to understand foreign cultures also travelled in the opposite direction. From the seventeenth century onwards, news about "Japan" began to reach the Netherlands. Some first-hand observations of Japan exist, such as François Caron's *Description of the Powerful Kingdom of Japan* (1646), Engelbert Kaempfer's *History of Japan* (1727), Carl Peter Thunberg's *Travels in Japan* (1796), Isaac Titsingh's *Illustrations of Japan* (1822), Hendrik Doeff's, *Memories of Japan* (1833), and Philipp Franz von Siebold's *Nippon, An Archive for the Description of Japan* (1832-1852). However, if we think about the unique opportunity that Europeans had to think about Japan, we must acknowledge that there are few works that tried to make good use of Dutch access to Japan. In fact, it is not until the eighteenth century that this interest began to show, and it is not until the nineteenth century that the Dutch began to really take seriously their access to Japan.

While access to Japan existed, it was, in fact, limited. Until the twentieth century, most Dutch never went to Japan and never met any Japanese. Japan was still a very faraway place. Symbolic of this is an early description of Japan that was much referred to over a long period, Arnoldus Montanus' *Memorable Envoys to the Emperors of Japan* (1669). This work was based on information by Portuguese Jesuits and the work of François Caron. In short, this was an early manifestation of the pattern that 'Japan' could be known only though textual description.

Siebold's comprehensive description of Japan took its inspiration partly from the systematic British *History of Java* (1817), a result of Sir Stamford Raffles' governorship over this former Dutch colony during the Napoleonic wars in 1811-1815. Siebold's was in many ways a modern academic enterprise,

partly because of its systematic approach but also because it led to the establishment of a professorship of Japanese studies at Leiden University in 1855. This new chair was first occupied by Siebold's disciple J.J. Hoffmann.

Leiden University was founded in 1575 as the first university of the Dutch republic that was fighting a war of independence against the king of Spain. This was to an extent also a religious war, and we may say that the Dutch republic in essence was a Protestant country fighting a Catholic power. As a result, Leiden University was among other things a Protestant university for theological studies and Bible studies. It is in this context that we find the development of the study of Hebrew, because the study of the Bible in the original languages was an important principle of the Protestant theological movement. Scholars in this field also learned other related language such as Aramaic, Syrian, Ethiopian, and Arabic. The first chair in Arabic studies at Leiden University was established as early as 1613.

The fundamental assumptions of scholars in this period may be categorized as the view that philology is a foundational science for all fields, the belief that culture is understood through history, and the belief that history is understood through writings of the past. This set of assumptions became a model for studying "the Orient" in general, and as still valid when "the Orient" came to include Japan and China in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Since the establishment of the first chair of Japanese studies outside Japan in 1855 until the second half of twentieth century, this predominantly text-based approach to the academic study of Japan translated into a focus on language and linguistics, history, religion, and classical literature.

As have other universities, Leiden University has seen a tremendous growth in student numbers, especially in the last three decades. At present, the university counts a good 300 students in its BA program *Japan Studies* and over forty in Japan tracks in MA programs in *Asian Studies*. Ironically, part of Japan studies' 'success' at Leiden University comes from elements that are probably not essential to any ideas we have about 'Japan' as object of study: student numbers on the one hand, and on the

other the reduction to an emphasis on a part of the program that is both deemed 'useful' (in the eyes of certain administrators) and appealing (in the eyes of certain students) and at the same time convenient because of its measurability: that part is the language program, about which a few words more below.

The Leiden programs' focus has gradually shifted towards social sciences, with the addition of new expertise areas such as anthropology, sociology, religious studies (with emphasis on practice more than doctrine), political economy and international relations, and — of course — popular culture (*anime*, *manga*, video games). This reorientation one could describe as a movement towards studying people rather than primarily their cultural products. Japan studies still retains disciplines it has known since the prewar period or that build on these: religious studies, history, literature, film, visual studies, and the study of products of popular culture. It must be said that these were not necessarily seen as mutually exclusive approaches. Nevertheless, the new orientation towards an emphasis on social sciences in the broad sense was symbolized by the establishment of chairs in 'Modern China' and 'Modern Japan' in the 1980s. With this formal recognition of such new expertise, one sees also a redefinition of what constitutes 'modern Japan': it was, in short, defined as the object of social sciences and modern history. This was followed by another symbolic step: as part of a larger overhaul within the Faculty of Humanities in the twenty-first century, the program was no longer called 'languages and cultures of Japan' (it had shed the name 'Japanology' already earlier), but was now renamed 'Japan studies.'

With this mini-history we reach a moment that may be of interest to others, but for this we have to ponder the institutional setting of Japan studies expertise at Leiden University. Traditionally, Japan studies at Leiden University has always been situated within Faculty of Humanities. After its embrace of social sciences, it still remained within that same faculty. However, within the faculty of Humanities in Area Studies, 'Japan studies' was part of a larger group of expertises and their programs (with 'China studies,' etc.) that positioned themselves in a different way from

other programs in the faculty, which could be tagged along the monodisciplinary lines of history, linguistics, art history, and literature and film studies. 'Japan studies' was an 'area study' in an age when this notion was being widely discussed. This institutional setting, as well as its history, placed Japan studies at Leiden University in a somewhat different strategic position than more recently established centers of Japanese studies.

Undoubtedly also because of its heritage in Humanities, at Leiden University the notion of area studies was an attempt to overcome two dichotomies: first, the west/non-west dichotomy, and, second, the modern/traditional divide. The position of Japan studies as area studies within a Humanities setting among other things means a need to address the claim that it is 'not a discipline.' The counterclaim then is that an emphasis on 'discipline' implicitly privileges 'the West over the Rest:' Western Europe and North America tend not to be seen as 'areas,' because ideas, norms and theories are (were?) based on the Western experience. This strategic rebuttal comes with a claim to 'deep knowledge:' also because of their source language skills, area studies scholars know their object of study well and can make their own selections of primary data. In this context, language skills are a tool, not a goal in itself. This is a message readily understood; even within academe it is a struggle to convince colleagues and administrators that 'Japan studies' at the university is not a language program (but it does have one). So while it is difficult to claim 'area studies' (and consequently 'Japan studies') as a discipline, it can certainly be argued that 'area studies' is 'an approach to knowledge.' Japan studies expertise today falls under the Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS) and it is especially this claim of challenging basic, 'universal' assumptions of 'disciplines,' often presenting area studies as a modifier of discipline in the combination of "discipline *and* place." To be sure, this is also a strategic gesture, in order to carve out room for area studies within a Faculty of Humanities setting, emphasizing critical reflection on the 'situatedness' of scholarship in general. Concretely, this translates into the claim that the study of, for example, Japan yields insights that may challenge established

notions in, for example, history or literature studies. (See the LIAS' mission statement: https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/humanities/institute-for-area-studies/mission.)

The second dichotomy, that of the modern/traditional divide, may seem less of an issue within a tradition of academic humanities, but is best seen as a way of positioning area-studies-with a-long-history as area studies in the broad sense, that is: emphatically including those same traditions of humanities scholarship, such as premodern history, visual studies, and literature. Intriguingly, in the field of Japan studies at least, the popularity of Japan's popular culture among students brings a renewed importance of what we could call a new textual vision of Japan, since the object of study so often is issues of representation in *anime* etc. One can see how humanities-type disciplines have a role to play in catering to new students' needs.

To sum up, Japan studies at Leiden University builds from specificity (a 'deep knowledge' of 'Japan') and within the discourse in academic training presents itself, as do other area studies, as a 'translator' between disciplines, contributing to a corrective to totalizing pretensions of disciplines. At the same time, it must deal with the question the units of inquiry (what is 'Japan'? where does it end?) and the question of how to make the best use of contacts between scholars in Europe and US and Japan (and China, India, etc.)?

The broad claim is necessary also in the light of a worn-out question. The question is worn because it needs to be asked again and again, namely: "What are universities for?" Much has been written and said on that topic, but a strategic consensus has still not been reached. Yet such big questions bear on the only slightly smaller question of what university programs should achieve. Why? Simply because a program is an implementation of the answer to that Big Question. Thinking about how to define Japan studies within academe must always include thinking about the aims of its programs.

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CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PARALLELS OF *KOKUGAKU* AND *PHILOLOGIE*[*]

In late 17th-century Japan, Chinese studies thrived through rigorous linguistic research and textual criticism with the purpose of accurate understanding and interpreting of Chinese classic literature. Provoked and stimulated by this intellectual trend, a fierce nativist reaction for national learning emerged in a movement known as *kokugaku* (国学) with the aim of identifying and re-evaluating the traditional value of Japanese mentality and morality so that they could refute the claims of Chinese influence at a later stage.

Nonetheless, in terms of the methodology of analyzing texts in linguistic and interpretative ways, *kokugaku* scholars were strongly influenced by the academic rigor of Tokugawa Classicist Confucians. By means of elucidating the original meaning of each word and scrutinizing a whole text as precisely as possible, they devoted themselves to re-experiencing what ancient people really felt, perceived, and recognized and then empathizing their reality and lived-experience.

This approach may be comparable to that of European humanists after the Renaissance, particularly that of 19th-century German philologists. In other words, *kokugaku* scholars'

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[*] This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the panel "Philological and exegetical studies of classical texts in 18th- and 19th-century Japan: A comparative approach," given on August 30, 2014 at the 14th International Conference of the European Association for Japanese Studies held at University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, and published later as a part of "Textual criticism and exegesis in East Asia and the West: A comparative study," edited by Eiji Takemura in the *Bulletin of Asian Studies* (21st Century Asian Studies Association, Kokushikan University), 14 (2016), pp. 111-126. This research was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 25370093.

academic integrity and rigor and their purpose and procedure of studying ancient writings may be called "philological," and what they pursued can be regarded as a sort of "philology."

Linguistics vs. philology

"Philology" is without doubt the key word in this short article. Presumably this term is not so familiar to many native speakers of English today. Some may associate this word with language study or, in a more restrictive sense, with linguistics in a historical and comparative approach, which emerged in 19th-century Europe and was then called historical and comparative grammar.

In the *Oxford English Dictionary*, philology is defined as "Love of learning and literature; the study of literature, in a wide sense, including grammar, literary criticism and interpretation, the relation of literature and written records to history, etc.; literary or classical scholarship; polite learning. Now *rare* in *general* sense except in the U.S." It is given another definition with an annotation "in modern use" as "the study of structure and development of language; the science of language; linguistics." From these definitions, philology may be understood as identical to linguistics. But linguistics is now more commonly used for the science of language. "Philology" or its adjective "philological" may survive only in the titles of a few research papers and journals or in the name of an academic association. What, then, is philology? What is the difference between philology and linguistics?

Like many academic terms used in modern English, the word philology originates in Greek. Similar to *philosophy* (love of wisdom), philology consists of two elements: *philo-* (love) and *logos* (language, thought, reason, etc.). Thus, etymologically, this Greek loanword can be interpreted as "love of letters."

Philology as a branch of learning was born in the Hellenistic period (4c.-1c. BCE). After ancient Greece declined following the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BCE), the center of the Hellenic Culture moved to Alexandria, the capital of the Ptolemaic Egypt. Voluminous Greek scrolls and books were collected and stored

in the great library of Alexandria. In order to organize those materials, librarians had to read and understand texts that were almost unintelligible and, as a result, established the art of textual criticism and annotation. This is the birth of philology. In this sense, philology was the study of language and literature.

After the Middle Ages, the philological approach was revived with Humanism in the Renaissance period. Philology was regarded as a method of learning that focused on studying ancient texts in the original and appraised them not so much with speculation as on the basis of empirical evidence. Humanists valued the language, literature, learning, and moral values of ancient Greece and Rome. Philology was thus equated with classical scholarship, and this perspective lasted long through the early modern period with passion and adoration to ancient times.

From the late 18th century through the early 19th century, philology shifted gradually from an art of learning classics to a systematic inquiry into understanding what was recognized by the human mind. It occurred particularly in German-speaking regions, where Greek studies had important implications among intellectuals. One of the most important forerunners of this field was Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824).

As a classicist, Wolf systematized philology as an independent discipline to grasp the whole of the knowledge of ancient Greeks and Romans that encompassed language, literature, culture, art, thought, religion, etc. The purpose of Wolf's philology was to understand and re-experience life and events of the classical world. To this extent, Wolf confined philology to the learning of classical antiquity, or *Altertumswissenschaft*.

Philology of August Boeckh

Next, August Boeckh (1785-1867), a disciple of Wolf and Friedrich von Schleiermacher, reorganized Wolf's philology and gave it a clearer definition and a more systematized method. He applied this discipline to a broader sphere of humane and cultural studies. In his *Encyclopädie und Methodologie der*

philologischen Wissenschaften (1877), Boeckh referred to philology not merely as the study of classical literature or ancient languages, but also as an inquiry into "Erkennen des vom menschlichen Geist Producirten, d. h. des Erkannten (the recognition of what is produced by the human mind, i.e., what is recognized)".[1]

In his words, philologists do not have to philosophize like Plato or produce literary works like Shakespeare. But they just need to understand Plato's thoughts or Shakespeare's writings and explain them in a comprehensive and holistic way. So the ultimate concern of philologists lies in *Erkennen des Erkannten*, that is, understanding and re-experiencing what was recognized in the human mind. This approach should not be limited only to classical antiquity, but can be applied to every cultural phenomenon in any period.

To achieve this goal, Boeckh reorganized philology into a more systematized discipline to encompass all the aspects of a nation. Areas to be understood by philology included: annals, geography, political history, protocols, metrological system, economic history, social history, rituals, religion, history of art, mythology, history of philosophy, intellectual history, literary history, and language history. By is collecting and interpreting voluminous materials from each of these fields, we can grasp what was recognized in the human mind, in other words, understand and re-experience what was experienced.

Needless to say, most materials mentioned above can only be obtained from a text in a written form. Therefore, philologists must, among other things, have a satisfactory command of the language(s) used in the text in order to understand it as accurately and precisely as possible. This is why language learning occupies a prominent position in this discipline. But philology should not necessarily be confined only to language study. As already mentioned, the true task of philology is to understand and interpret what is written in a text and to re-experience what was experienced

1 August Boeckh, *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der philologischen Wissenschaften*, ed. by Ernst Bratuscheck (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1877), p. 10.

by human minds distant in space and time. Important and crucial as it is, the study of language is just one method to this goal.

To sum up, philology, from the viewpoint of Wolf and Boeckh, was a discipline of "understanding" what was held in the human mind. Wolf confined it to antiquity, but Boeckh made it available to various nations of various ages and attempted to capture the complete picture of a nation. Consequently, the theory and practice of Boeckh's philology provided a methodological framework to *Germanistik*, or the study of the German nation, and also had a profound impact to other disciplines in humanities, particularly in philosophy, sociology, and historical and cultural studies (e.g., Wilhelm Dilthey's hermeneutics).

Motoori Norinaga – A Japanese philologist

Such "philological" approaches for studying ancient writings are not peculiar to the West. They also emerged in a period of the Japanese intellectual history, and they were first established and fostered by Chinese classicist, or *kangaku* (漢学) scholars, of the Edo period and then by *kokugaku* scholars. Among various *kokugaku* scholars, we can and should pay special attention to the academic achievements of Motoori Norinaga (本居宣長, 1730-1801).

Norinaga is definitely one of the most pre-eminent and representative intellectual figures in the Edo period. Influenced by predecessors such as Keichū (契沖, 1640-1701) and Ogyū Sorai (荻生徂徠, 1666-1728), Norinaga conceived ideas of a philologically and exegetically oriented investigation of ancient Japanese language and literature. During his lifetime, he produced voluminous publications on Japanese classical literature (more than 90 titles and 260 volumes), all of which can be characterized by his rigorous academic attitude with and adoration and affection for people's emotional natures and a profound sense of reverence for people's spiritual lives.

Among other features, Norinaga can be characterized as a linguist pursuing a "scientific" approach to advance the

research of classical Japanese. His publications in this field include Sino-Japanese comparative phonology, a correlation of Chinese ideograms and Japanese phonetic symbols, the use of grammatical particles in the classics, etc., all of which are distinguished by his careful inductive method of language study and his passion to seek linguistic models in the early classics.

Though he cast keen eyes to linguistic phenomena, Norinaga's ultimate concern was to identify the traditional value of Japanese thought and culture and re-evaluate its peculiarity and pre-eminence against Chinese influences introduced at a later stage. For this particular purpose, he discerned the identity of Japanese culture through an intensive study of the ancient classics such as *Kojiki* (古事記, *Record of Ancient Matters*) and *Genjimonogatari* (源氏物語, *The Tale of Genji*).

In order to re-experience and understand the world of such classical texts, he adapted a rigorous philological approach to read and scrutinize the texts precisely word by word, and tried to evaluate intuitively what ancient people went through. In *Kojikiden* (古事記伝, *Study of Kojiki*), Norinaga's greatest academic achievement completed in 1798, he succeeded in not only reading the words in the text of *Kojiki*, written in Chinese script as phonetic signs for *yamato-kotoba* (大和言葉, indigenous Japanese words), but also explaining in detail the ancient Japanese system of mentality and morality.

Immediately after the publication of *Kojikiden*, three years before his death, Norinaga brought a small booklet to publication called *Uiyamabumi* (うひ山ふみ, *The First Mountain Climbing*). This is an introductory book for young pupils written in an informal manner to guide them to the basic approach and knowledge to climb the unsurmountable mountain called classical studies. Brief and concise as it is, this small booklet may reveal the best of Norinaga's ideas of classical leaning.

Here Norinaga made a succinct definition of *kogaku* (古学, classical leaning) as a study independent of all latter-day theories and attempting to seek out the ultimate origin of things by directly examining the classical texts and learning about antiquity in detail. As such, the students of classics must avoid and discard

arbitrary interpretations and commentaries that obscured the original meaning. Regarding this respect, it is vitally important to elucidate the true meaning of words in the texts by speculating on what the authors and poets went through. That is the very reason Norinaga insisted that *kokugaku* students should hold and value *kogaku-no-me* (古学の眼, eyes for classics).

As is the case with Boeckh's philological approach, in order to recognize what ancient people recognized, the best and only way is to go as far back as possible to the original sources and to elucidate them in minute detail. Finally, we are able to come close to the reality that the ancient people experienced, and re-experience and sympathize with it. Linguistic knowledge is indispensable here. As Norinaga insists, without complete knowledge of the ancient language, it is impossible to grasp classical ways of thinking; without complete knowledge of classical ways of thinking, it is impossible to identify the traditional values of Japanese mentality and morality.

Quite similar to Boeckh's philological inquiry, language learning forms the foundation of Norinaga's classic studies. Based on the linguistic analysis and interpretation of a text, we can penetrate into the mind of ancient people and understand what their mind produced, namely *Erkennen des Erkannten* in Boeckh's term. And this procedure is supported by the idea that language, mind, and action or behavior are closely related and, more or less, identical. Norinaga mentions *kotoba* (言, language), *waza* (事, behavior), and *kokoro* (心, mind) as follows:

> In all human beings, words, behavior, and mind generally coincide. A wise person is wise both in words and behavior; a dull person dull in both of them. Similarly, men think, speak, and behave like men, while women think, speak, and behave like women.[2]

What Norinaga insists here is that words, behavior, and mind are closely interrelated and interlinked. This indicates that he identified

2 Sey Nishimura, 'First Steps into the Mountains, Motoori Norinaga's Uiyamabumi', *Monumenta Nipponica: Studies on Japanese culture past and present* 42 (1987): 4, pp. 475-476.

language with behavior and mind. From this perspective, language study should be the foundation of interpreting and understanding people's behavior and thought, furthermore, their production.

Norinaga admits that the interrelation between words, behavior, and mind can be applied not only to synchronic phenomena, but to diachronic ones as well. As a wise person is wise both in words and behavior, according to Norinaga, "the words, behavior, and mind of ancient people are those of remote antiquity. Similarly, those of middle antiquity are those of middle antiquity, and those of later ages have their own later manner".[3] Norinaga continues as follows:

> If we wish to study the words, behavior, and mind of the ancient people, their words are found in poetry, and their behavior, in historical writings. There is no way of recording history except in words; similarly, the nature of people's minds may be known through poetry. Since words, behavior, and mind coincide, what you need to know in later years about the mind and behavior of the ancient people and the conditions of their society is preserved in ancient words and ancient poetry.[4]

These words may reveal Norinaga's view of language and literature as well as his fundamental attitude towards classical study. He does not confine the idea that words, behavior, and mind are interrelated and interlinked in all human beings to a certain period of time, but extends it beyond time. Then it is possible for us to understand ancient people's thought and behavior, and to re-experience what they experienced, through the scrutiny of words described in remaining texts. This perspective ensures the methodological validity of Norinaga's classical learning.

Concluding Remarks

In terms of scrutinizing the language used in texts, reading and interpreting what is written in them based on the linguistic

3 Sey Nishimura, 'First Steps into the Mountains, Motoori Norinaga's Uiyamabumi', p. 476.

4 Sey Nishimura, 'First Steps into the Mountains, Motoori Norinaga's Uiyamabumi', p. 476.

knowledge, and finally understanding and re-experiencing the mind of people in question, Norinaga's *kokugaku* parallels conceptually and methodologically Boeckh's philology. In addition, both of them emphasize the value of national spirit untainted and unfertilized by the foreign influence. From this point, it follows that the aim of language study for them was not simply an elucidation of the nature of language in a speculative and metaphysical way, but the identification and evaluation of their own national identities and their own traditions and cultures.

Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798-1874), 19th-century German philologist, defined "die deutsche Philologie (German philology)" as "das Studium des geistigen Lebens des deutschen Volkes insofern es sich durch Sprache und Literatur kundgiebt (the study of spiritual life of German nation from the point of linguistic and literary study)".[5] In this respect, Norinaga's *kokugaku* can be interpreted as "Japanese philology" aiming at the study of spiritual life of the Japanese nation from the perspectives of linguistic and literary study.

These conceptual and methodological parallels in academic approach between Norinaga and 19th-century German philologists were already clearly understood by Japanologists of the Meiji period. At the beginning of the last century, Haga Yaichi (芳賀矢一, 1867-1927) identified the similar features shared by *kokugaku* and German philology. He coined a term *Nihon bunkengaku* (日本文献学, Japanese philology) and suggested a new discipline based on the theories and methods of German philology. His aim was to provide a solid academic basis for *kokugogaku* (国語学) or *kokubungaku* (国文学) as an independent study and to understand the fundamental characters of Japanese people through interpreting texts written in the Japanese language. Later, Muraoka Tsunetsugu (村岡典嗣, 1884-1946), inspired by Haga's suggestion, re-evaluated Norinaga's *kokugaku* as identical in nature with German philology, or *Altertumswissenschaft*.

5 Hoffmann Fallersleben, *Die deutsche Philologie im Grundriß*, (Breslau: G. P. Aderholz, 1836), p. v.

Both Haga and Muraoka's insights may originate in their profound and comprehensive knowledge of Japanese classics and of the novel learning of humanities in Europe. They understood intuitively the conceptual and methodological parallels between *kokugaku* and philology. Then they attempted to apply the theory and practice of Boeckh's philology to studies of Japanese literature and intellectual history and establish new *kokugaku* to reform and reframe the traditional approach to literary works. But their endeavor seems to have been completely forgotten along with the term "philology."

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BORDER-CROSSING METHODS

A tentative linking of Italian medieval literature and Heian literature

1. *The Hasekura League and World Literature*

The theme "Japan as an object of study – Japan as a method of study" has in my opinion this meaning: how can Japan help the process of the internationalization of knowledge? How can it become a field in which scholars from different backgrounds cooperate and discuss the horizon of peaceful collaboration between countries? From the point of view of the Humanities, where the discourse about "utility" and "profitability" of academic knowledge has recently become a matter of survival for departments and faculties around the world, these questions look urgent.

The aim declared in the founding manifesto of the "Hasekura League" by Tohoku University is "to rebuild Japanese Studies as a new interdisciplinary field of the Humanities rather than a branch of area studies, with the purpose of learning from each other, having lively discussions, and working together to cultivate the minds of young people who might help to respond to pressing global issues." In the last two decades many attempts have been made to break the limits of "area studies." Let us consider two recent works worthy of consideration.

The first one is *World Philology*, a collection of essays by philologists of very different geographical and historical areas: from ancient Greece to eighteenth-century China, from early Arabic philologists to Tokugawa Japan, and so on.[1] This is

1 Sheldon Pollock, Benjamin A. Elman, Ku-ming Kevin Chang (ed. by), *World*

probably the most recent attempt to give philology, namely "the most unmodern of any of the branches of learning associated with humanism," a new and worldwide self-awareness.[2] In the introduction, Sheldon Pollock suggests three requirements for the next generations of researchers, which seem to match perfectly the Hasekura League's aims. 1) Historical self-awareness, namely a more flexible and self-critical view of disciplines and their genealogy; 2) Nonprovinciality, because these disciplines cannot continue to be just local, but must pursue a "global, and by preference globally comparative, knowledge;" 3) methodological and conceptual pluralism, meaning different people discussing and proposing different solutions to shared problems.[3]

The idea of mixing methods and approaches from different academic fields is also a central issue in the discourse about "World Literature." In 1952, Erich Auerbach observed how "foreign, nonphilological or scientific methods and concepts begin to be felt in philology: sociology, psychology, certain kinds of philosophy, and contemporary literary criticism."[4] Statements like "our philological home is the earth: it can no longer be the nation" sound self-evident to us, but are still far from being realized.[5]

The second recent publication worthy of attention is *Classical World Literatures: Sino–Japanese and Greco–Roman comparisons* by Wiebke Denecke.[6] Also inspired by Auerbach's *Weltliteratur*, Denecke's work deals with classical literatures in a brand new way, opening the new subfield of "classical world literatures" (*sekai koten bungaku* 世界古典文学). Moreover, the volume's main motivation is "a desire to reflect more

Philology (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015).

2 Edward Said, *Humanism and democratic criticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 57.

3 *World Philology*, p. 25.

4 Erich Auerbach, 'Philology and Weltliteratur', trans. by Maire and Edward Said, *The Centennial Review*, 8-1, (1969), 1–17 (p. 8).

5 Auerbach, p. 17.

6 Wiebke Denecke, *Classical World Literatures: Sino–Japanese and Greco–Roman comparisons* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

methodically on the processes of Sino-Japanese reception, taking inspiration from the far more developed and mature studies of reception in the Greco-Roman context."[7] While responding (in advance) to Pollock's request of "methodological and conceptual pluralism," Denecke's book realizes what is in the nature of World Literature studies: "to get indirectly in touch with foreign critical methodologies and problem solving proposed by those researchers."[8]

These two examples demonstrate that the Hasekura League's call for international cooperation between academies is not an isolated initiative, but focuses on urgent issues discussed worldwide.

The field of literature can be an appropriate test-ground for the renewal of theories and methodologies since literature, together with philology, is the most traditional discipline of what we call "area studies." In both European and Japanese universities, curricula of literature are usually intended as the study of an almost monolithic body of texts (primary sources) and the modern editions of those texts (secondary sources). These sources are usually selected according to the language they are written in, and therefore included or excluded from the literary canon following the (mistaken) rule "one nation = one language." The problem with this assumption becomes particularly clear in the case of Italian and Japanese Literature, for somewhat similar reasons. From the Middle Ages to the mid-19th century, the Italian peninsula, lacking political unity, also lacked a real, shared national language. Even in the 20th century, the literature produced in various Italian dialects was lively and recognized in such works as the anthology *Poesia dialettale del Novecento* edited by Pasolini.[9]

> On the other hand, even if Japan has had a longer political unity, Japanese was not the only 'national' language in use: "premodern and early

7 Denecke, 2014, p. 294.

8 Remo Ceserani, *Guida allo studio della letteratura* (Roma: Laterza, 1999), p. 319.

9 Mario dell'Arco, Pier Paolo Pasolini (ed. by), *Poesia dialettale del Novecento* (Parma: Guanda, 1952).

modern Japan was a bilingual country" as *kanbun* (漢文, Chinese, or Sino-Japanese) was still used for writings at least until the early 20th century, even if it thereafter became "the biggest and most important area of Japanese literary study that has been ignored in recent times."[10]

On these premises I conducted my comparative study, taking as object of research the Japanese poetry of the early Heian court (8-9th centuries) and the Italian poetry at the Sicilian court of emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (13th century).[11] The comparison moves from the fact that both the courts represent important turning points in the consolidation of later literary canons.

A mutual reading of the results from both the fields (Japanese literature and Italian literature) could enrich the discourse about some shared issues in the respective literary contexts, giving each other new elements and points of view to verify, confute, or deepen hypotheses and conclusions. The first stage of this study was to make readable to Japanese researchers of Japanese Literature results and methodologies of Italian researchers who only publish in Italian, and vice-versa. As specialists know, works in a third language make a rare but important contribution; the greater part of the publications by Japanese researchers on Japanese Classical Literature and of Italian researchers on Italian medieval Literature will likely never see an English translation and will thus remain inaccessible to non-specialists.[12] The assembling of results of previous research in these two fields related to shared topics in order to gain a richer perspective is what I called the "border-crossing method".

Let us see how this method can be applied to a circumscribed theme like the political role of court poetry.

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10 Ivo Smits, 'The Way of the Literati: Chinese Learning and Literary Practice in Mid-Heian Japan', in Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, Stacie Matsumo (ed. by), *Heian Japan, Centers and Peripheries* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 105–128 (p. 105); Timothy Wixted, 'Kanbun, Histories of Japanese Literature, and Japanologists', *Sino-Japanese Studies*, 10–2 (April 1998), 23–31 (p. 23).

11 Edoardo Gerlini, *Heian Court Poetry as World Literature – from the Point of View of Early Italian Poetry* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2014).

12 i.e. Haruo Shirane (ed. by), *Waka Opening up to the World* (Tokyo: Bensei, 2012); Roberto Antonelli, Costanzo di Girolamo, Rosario Coluccia (ed. by), *I Poeti della Scuola Siciliana* (Milano: Mondadori, 2008) in three volumes.

2. *The political role of court poetry in 13th century Italy and early Heian Japan*

In both early Heian Japan and the Sicilian court of the 13th century, emperors actively supported and sponsored the composition of poems, the foundation of academies, and the spread of culture as part of their political duties. Many texts, like the prefaces to imperial poetry collections in Japan or public letters by Frederick II, testify to this political will.

One of the Confucian theories introduced in Japan since the 7th century is that of 'Heaven-man mutuality' (天人相関 *tenjinsōkan*), created by the Han dynasty scholar Dong Zhongshu (董仲舒, ca. 176-104 BCE). This theory explains the peaceful changing of the seasons and weather as a direct consequence of the emperor's virtue and, by contrast, natural disasters and bad harvests with the loss of the ruler's virtue. This theory is also tied to the quality of the literary production by officials and court members. In the preface to the oldest collection of Chinese poems composed in Japan, the *Kaifūsō* (『懐風藻』, 751), we read:

> 四海殷昌。旒紘無為。巖廊多暇。旋招文学之士。
> 時開置醴之遊。当此之 際。宸翰垂文。賢臣献頌。
>
> The four seas [=all the Earth] flourish and prosper.
> The crown jewel [=the emperor] [has to] do nothing.
> In the high corridors, [=imperial palace] He has much spare time.
> Again and again He summons the Masters of Letters.
> Many times He holds banquets with sweet wines.
> It is during this occasions that the imperial brush drops writings [=the emperor composes poems].
> The good officials raise hymns.[13]

The expression *mui* 無為 (literally 'do nothing'), concisely

13 Noriyuki Kojima小島憲之 (ed. by), Kaifūsō; Bunka Shūreishū; Honchō Monzui, [Fond Recollections of Poetry; Collection of Masterpieces of Literary Flowers; Literary Essence of Our Country], 懐風藻；文華秀麗集；本朝文粋, Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei 日本古典文學体系, 69 (Tokyo: Iwanami 岩波, 1964).

expresses the belief that the emperor, without doing anything in particular but just because of his heavenly virtues, makes the country prosper. Since he doesn't need to actively govern the land, he has 'much spare time' to spend summoning his 'Masters of Letters,' and enjoying banquets where both the emperor and the courtiers harmonized their hearts composing refined poems such as the ones collected in *Kaifūsō*. As a logical consequence, the very existence of court poetry is the proof of emperor's virtue. This theory also provides the backbone for later imperial-ordered collections, both in Chinese and Japanese.

In Italy we find a very similar theory, especially in Latin writings like the famous *dictamen* (elaborated and artistic prose) by Pietro della Vigna (*Epistolario,* 3-XLIV), chief court official and chancellor of Frederick II. Reusing expressions from the Bible and from religious hymns by Venantius Fortunatus (6th century) and Boëthius (5th-6th century) initially addressed to God, Pietro declares the divine nature of the Emperor Frederick II and explain his heavenly virtues.

> Therefore land and sea worship Him, and the sky applauds with Him[...]
> He rules the world with a perennial law[...]
> in Him the idea of good is innate, free from any envy;
> He ties generating elements with generated elements,
> so that cold will harmonize with the flames,
> the arid with the liquid, the rugged will adhere to the polished,
> the curved will combine with the straight.[14]

Another poet, Marquard de Ried, on the day of Frederick's triumphant entrance into Jerusalem on March 17th of the year 1229, during the Sixth Crusade, declared that:

> When the great Frederick, servant of God, comes,

14 Fulvio Delle Donne, 'L'immagine di Federico II nella letteratura coeva. Riletture del mito', in Fulvio Delle Donne (ed. by), *L'eredità di Federico II. Dalla storia al mito, dalla Puglia al Tirolo* (Bari: Mario Adda Editore, 2010), p. 148.

> the sun shines, the air becomes warm, the water boils, the land spreads green[15]

Many other writings about Frederick use the hyperbole of an emperor as "cosmic sovereign, Lord of the four elements."[16] Also the concept of refined literature as proof of imperial virtue is present at Frederick's court. In the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Dante Alighieri, when discussing the supreme quality of Sicilian poetry, states that those literary examples are a direct result of the virtue of Frederick II and his son Manfred:

> Those illustrious heroes, Emperor Frederick and his worthy son Manfred, knew how to reveal the nobility and integrity that were in their hearts; […] On this account, all who were noble of heart and rich in graces strove to attach themselves to the majesty of such worthy princes, so that, in their day, all that the most gifted individuals in Italy brought forth first came to light in the court of these two great monarchs (*De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I-XII).

The effort to justify and elevate the role of poetry and literature through imperial legitimation is evident both in Japan and in Italy, but one of the issues pointed out by scholars is that the greater part of this poetry, like the poems of the Sicilian School at Frederick II's court and both *kanshi* (漢詩) and *waka* (和歌) in Heian Japan, doesn't deal with political or practical topics, being almost exclusively focused on love and seasons. So, how can this poetry be considered "political"?

A clear example of this 'incoherence' is Sugawara no Michizane (菅原道真, 845-903), one of the most influential poets and courtiers of late-9th-century Japan. In a rhapsody composed in 890 (*Kanke bunsō*, 菅家文草 VIII-516), Michizane claims the political value of poetry: "both for poems [*shi*] and for rhapsodies [*fu* 賦], each character of the composition should not to be a meaningless word detached from reality, and for example, also

15 Peter Dronke, 'La poesia', in Pierre Toubert, Angelo Paravicini Bagliani (ed. by), *Federico II e le scienze* (Palermo: Sellerio, 1994), p. 46.

16 Dronke, p. 44.

when we sing about natural elements like the late chrysanthemum and the cold frost, we should sing about the loyalty that doesn't tremble even under wind and frost."[17] But if we look at his poem titled *Poem of the frost-covered chrysanthemum* (*Kanke Bunsō*, IV-332), we find very few elements that can be connected to real political matters, apart perhaps from the metaphor of the chrysanthemum symbolizing the court official's loyalty to his emperor even in difficult (cold) times.

戴白知貞節
深秋不畏涼

Covered in white [frost] you understand its loyalty.
In deep autumn, it doesn't fear the cold.[18]

Many explanations have been proposed by Japanese scholars to solve this 'contradiction' in Heian poetry. That the theory of the political role of literature was merely a façade, an excuse for the huge expenses these banquets and pastimes entailed;[19] that the political value of these poems lies in public performances aimed to visually represent the rank and importance of the courters inside the court's hierarchy;[20] or again, that in poets like Michizane's there is an unsolvable and clear contradiction

17 Katsumi Fujiwara 藤原克己, *Sugawara no Michizane to Heianchō kanbungaku* [Sugawara no Michizane and the Sino-chinese Literature in the Heian Court]『菅原道真と平安朝漢文学』 (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press 東京大学出版会, 2001), p. 254.

18 Hisao Kawaguchi川口久雄 (ed. by), *Kanke bunsō Kanke kōshū* [Writings of the Sugawara Family; Later Collection of the Sugawara Family]『菅家文草・菅家後集』, Nihon koten bungaku taikei 日本古典文学大系, 72 (Tokyo: Iwanami 岩波, 1966).

19 Tadashi Kinpara 金原理, 'Saga-chō bundan no kichō' [The Keynote of the Literary Circle of Saga's court]「嵯峨朝文壇の基調」, in *Heian-chō kanshibun no kenkyū*『平安朝漢詩文の研究』 (Fukuoka: Kyushu University Press 九州大学出版会, 1981).

20 Kōji Takigawa 滝川幸司, 'Uda – Daigo no kadan to waka no dōkō' [The poetic Circles of Uda and Daigo, and the trend of *waka*]「宇多・醍醐の歌壇と和歌の動向」, in Shigeo Masuda and others (ed. by), *Kokinwakashū kenkyū shūsei*『古今和歌集研究集成』, 1, (Tokyo: Kazama 風間書房, 2004).

between the poet (*shijin* 詩人) and the poet committed to Confucian duties (*shishin* 詩臣);[21] and so on.[22]

The problem of the political meaning of court poetry has also been extensively discussed among Italian scholars, especially in the case of Frederick II's court. According to Alberto Vàrvaro, "poetry is functionalized to a political activity, not by managing political matters, nor supporting it, nor becoming its sounding board, […] but just demonstrating that the ruler, and his court, are the center of the world."[23] For Edoardo d'Angelo, "in poetry, one of the cornerstones of Frederick's cultural project consisted in giving space — for anti-Papal reasons — to the use of national [vernacular] languages (the creation of the Sicilian School of poetry)."[24] For Fulvio Delle Donne, "all of these [literary works], in one way or another contribute to the spread of that halo of rarity and prestige around the figure of the greatest temporal ruler of that age."[25] Serge Lusignan states: "the mastery of letters contributes to the greatness of the kingdom."[26] Therefore, according to Italian scholars, the political importance of creating a highly refined style of writing lays in the process of legitimation of imperial power, against the traditional monopolist of Latin culture, namely the Church of Rome.

Some of these statements, like "the emperor is identified as an emperor because his court produces the highest and most refined

21 Fujiwara, 2001, p. 257.

22 For a recent comment see also Wiebke Denecke ヴィーブケ・デーネーケ, 'Sagachō ni okeru Monjōkeikoku sairon' [A New Theory of "Letters to Governing the State" at the Saga's Court]「嵯峨朝における「文章経国」再論」, in Wiebke Denecke, Kimiko Kōno (ed. by), *Nihon ni okeru "bun" to "bungaku"* 『日本における「文」と「ブンガク」』(Tokyo: Bensei勉誠出版, 2013), 93–106, (pp. 96–98).

23 Alberto Vàrvaro, 'Potere politico e progettualità culturale nel medioevo e in Federico II', in Mario del Treppio (ed. by), *Nel segno di Federico II – Unità politica e pluralità culturale del mezzogiorno* (Napoli: Bibliopolis, 1989), (pp. 87-88).

24 Edoardo d'Angelo, 'Poesia latina', in *Enciclopedia Federiciana* (Milano: Treccani, 2005).

25 Delle Donne, 2010, p. 160.

26 Serge Lusignan, *Grammatica, lingua e società*, in Pierre Toubert, Angelo Paravicini Bagliani (ed. by), *Federico II e le scienze* (Palermo: Sellerio, 1994).

style of writing, which is also a proof of power," seem to fit perfectly to the poetic production at the Heian court.[27] Discussing the three imperial collections of Saga (嵯峨) and Junna (淳和)'s reign, Denecke states that "because at court we have refined writings and poetry, we understand we are living in a golden age under a virtuous ruler," and "the composition of Sino-Japanese poetry was not just a side effect of this explosion of literacy and the state's instrumentalization of textual production, but was a part and parcel of establishing imperial power."[28] Moreover, Suzuki Hideo's explanation of poetic composition as something that contributes to create a "virtual community of poets holding the same heart [...]" through "a kind of cooperative rite aimed at harmonizing the various powers inside the court society" is surprisingly close to the idea of Frederic II's court notaries intended as an *ecclesia imperialis* (imperial Church) theorized by Delle Donne or a *fraternitas* (religious confraternity) by Kölzer.[29]

Let us just try to imagine how much both the fields of Japanese Literature and Italian Literature could enrich and positively affect each other through the exchange of conclusions and points of view about shared issues like the political role of poetry, the function of rhetoric, the consolidation of the vernacular canon, and the idealization of love. The analysis of these problems in a wider, shared horizon, could help to break the limits of 'area studies,' and the "provinciality" criticized by Pollock.

27 Alberto Vàrvaro, 1989.

28 Denecke, 2014, pp. 102-103, 66.

29 Hideo Suzuki鈴木日出男, 'Saga bungakuken' [The Literary Sphere of Saga]「嵯峨文学圏」, Bungaku / gogaku 『文学/語学』68 (1973), pp. 1–12; Fulvio Delle Donne, 'Le parole del potere: l'epistolario di Pier della Vigna', in Graziano Tonelli (ed. by), Pier delle Vigne in catene da Borgo San Donnino alla Lunigiana medievale (Sarzana: Grafiche Lunensi, 2006), p. 122; Theo Kölzer, 'Magna imperialis curia', in Pierre Toubert, Angelo Paravicini Bagliani (ed. by), Federico II e il mondo mediterraneo (Palermo: Sellerio, 1994), p. 73.

Conclusions

The question "Japan as a method - Japan as an object," while focusing the discourse on Japan also sets the point of view outside it, and therefore defines the identity of overseas academics as well. The problem should be not limited to how to analyze Japan as an object or method of research, but it should be rather lead to the question "what can the world *and* Japan learn from each other?".

I think that the goal of making Japan an effective center of attraction for international attention can only be pursued by inserting Japanese academia itself into a wider frame of international exchange and cooperation. We should finally put aside the essentialist idea of "Japaneseness" and recognize that many features of Japanese culture and history have so much to share with other countries — both close like China, and far like European nations — and that problems could be solved by crossing the physical and ideological borders of present-day nations and academic fields.

IDENTITY AND IDENTITIES THROUGH LANGUAGE AND HISTORY

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JAPAN IN GLOBAL HISTORY: QUESTIONING EUROPE, QUESTIONING JAPAN

Although the history of the globe has always been of interest to mankind, the rise of methodological nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe drove world history to the margins of the emerging historical profession.[1] It was still practiced, albeit rather from a cultural critical position or, in contrast, from a 'civilizational' perspective which analysed the rise and fall of great civilizations, but which also created civilizational hierarchies, obviously with Western civilization at the top.[2] Implicit or indeed explicit in these histories was a modernist ideology of progress and growth. Even these cases, as in Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History* (1934–1961), which focused on the rise and fall of civilizations, actually implied that also Western civilization might one day follow that pattern.

A moral undertone was rarely absent from such histories. The *Decline of the Occident* – the title of the most famous example of this literary trope by Oswald Spengler – was a major theme, especially after WWI. It referred to the presumed economic, political and moral decay of Europe, but also prominent was the fear of an 'awakening' of the great Asian civilizations along with the economic competition of especially the US.[3] But apart from Toynbee's *Study of History*, such macrohistories of the world remained marginal among professional historians, who mostly shied away from grand narratives. Modern and contemporary historians instead contributed to reconstructing

1 Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

2 Brett Bowden, *The Empire of Civilization: the Evolution of an Imperial Idea* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

3 Patrick Pasture, *Imagining European Unity since 1000 AD* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

and imagining histories of nations, documenting, as it were, the disintegration of premodern European empires. By the same move, perhaps inadvertently, they also erased the modern European empires from the historical perception. Increasingly in the twentieth century, colonialism, just as slavery had before, hardly fitted in a story of progress and moral superiority which underpinned discourses of Europe's 'civilizing mission' of the world.

In the 1960s, surprisingly parallel to the last major wave of decolonization, a new academic subject emerged that reintroduced a global perspective, usually referred to as the 'rise of the West'.[4] While decolonization actually made it painfully clear that Europe's role as the dominating force in the world was over and the Cold War pitted two essentially Western philosophies and economic systems against each other, these studies – most practiced by Americans – tried to explain how the West managed to dominate the world and when this had started.

Japan's obvious economic success and 'modernization' confirmed the underlying historist and modernist presumptions of Western narratives: very simply its success was obviously due to its adoption of Western modernization strategies and thus confirmed the efficiency of the Western model.[5] That Japan realized its achievement after two centuries of *sakoku* all the more demonstrated the possibility of rapid modernization through the radical implementation of Western development models. Hence Japan's history before the Meiji Revolution, or at least before Commodore Matthew Perry and the "Black Ships" in 1854 forced Japan's 'opening' to the West, was represented as

4 William H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1963).

5 Examples in W.G. Beasley, 'Japan', in F.H. Hinsley (ed. by), *The New Cambridge Modern History*: Volume XI: *Material Progress and World-Wide Problems 1870-1898* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962); W.G. Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972); Mikiso Hane, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), which was first published in 1972 as *Japan: A Historical Survey* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972): see David Howell, 'Required reading', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 29: 2 (Summer, 2003), pp. 341-355).

feudal and stagnant, an evaluation shared by liberal and Marxist historians alike. But in this perspective it also seems that after 1854 culture did not matter much. In his 1963 magnum opus *The Rise of the West*, William McNeil, the 'doyen' of the *Rise of the West* historiography, even argued that not much changed in Japanese culture – "Japan, like much of the rest of the world, passed through a comparatively low period of cultural activity between 1850 and 1950" – a rather bizarre observation that illustrates some of the cultural blindness of this tradition of history writing.[6]

That Japanese modernization somehow differed from the 'original' was not really seen as problematic: variation was also great in the West. Japan was mostly compared with 'Germany,' which also followed a different path of late but accelerated and efficient modernization of its economy. But the parallel with Germany was developed in another perspective as well, to discuss the consequences of a lack of liberal political institutions and culture — they shared to some extent the same *Sonderweg*, as Japan also engaged on a colonial and imperial course.[7] For the Japanese 'modernizers' colonialism obviously was an inherent part of Westernization and modernization (even if it was also criticized, as it was in Europe and certainly the US), if only as their confrontation with Western modernity was through the latter's imperial fleet.[8] There is much to argue that they were right, of course, as those who emphasize Western values of liberty and progress as the core of modernity looked the other

6 William H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1963), p. 792.

7 See esp. Sebastian Conrad, *Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Nation. Geschichtsschreibung in Westdeutschland und Japan, 1945–1960* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999) (English transl.: *The Quest for the lost Nation. Writing History in Germany and Japan in the American Century*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2010); Erik Grimmer-Solem, 'German Social Science, Meiji Conservatism, and the Peculiarities of Japanese History', *Journal of World History*, 16:2 (June 2005), pp. 187–222.

8 See esp. Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

way as regards Western imperialism and colonialism – that Britain conquered the greatest empire that ever existed never prevented any scholar from calling Britain 'modern' and even liberal.

In the 1970s and 1980s historians ascribed a more active role to Japanese culture and politics. Arguably Japanese historians laid the basis of this shift, as studying cultural and political interactions required profound knowledge of Japanese language and culture. Still, even Hirakawa Sukehiro's contribution to *The Cambridge History of Japan*, "Japan's Turn to the West" (1989), remained firmly within the modernization paradigm, as did Michio Morishima's *Why Has Japan 'Succeeded'?: Western Technology and the Japanese Ethos*, which formulated a new standard narrative of Japan managing to associate 'the best of both worlds': Western technology and Japanese mentality.[9] While its narrative of Westernization is far too simplistic, it highlights at least some Japanese agency.

One aspect, not problematized nor even much recognized at the time, was obviously Japan's ethnic homogeneity: it corresponded to Western views of the nation as cornerstone of modernity. That Japan was less homogenous in religious terms could therefore be seen as problematic, but it appeared that Japanese religions were somehow inclusive and largely similar. Japanese religious diversity in most histories of the world (from Toynbee to McNeil and beyond), as far as it was recognized – they shared a prevalent secularist bias that made them underevaluate religion in modernity – was not viewed in contradiction with the overall image of homogeneity.

By the late 1980s world history quickly moved to centre stage. The discussion on the 'rise of the West' – or 'the Great Divergence' as it was called now, supposedly less complacently – remained important, though perhaps not that voluminous in

9 Hirakawa Sukehiro, 'Japan's Turn to the West', in: Marius B. Janssen, (ed. by): '*The Cambridge History of Japan: Volume 5: the Nineteenth Century*' (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 432–488; Michio Morishima, *Why Has Japan 'Succeeded'?: Western Technology and the Japanese Ethos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, 2008).

historical production.[10] However, its basic premises were in many ways fundamentally challenged by economic historians of the so-called 'California School' (Andre Gunder Frank, Kenneth Pomeranz, Roy Bin Wong, Jack Goldstone, James Dennis Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, Robert Marks, among others), who basically argued that the differences between Europe and the East before the 'Great Divergence' were grossly overestimated and that Europe, particularly England, departed ways with the rest of the world only around the end of the eighteenth century as the result of a combination of factors, including the colonial connection and the easy access to raw materials. Not Japan, but China moved to the centre of attention. It was argued that China was at least as developed in terms of wealth and technology as Europe and could have made the same jump. Focus was thus on the similarities rather than the divergences, although, as Peer Vrees argues, this rather increases the enigma why others, such as China, did not experience the same technological breakthrough.[11] Japan moved out of the main centre of interest because the source of its development was still largely located in its adaptation of Western models.

The 'Rise of the West'/Great Divergence, however, is certainly not the issue that captivated world historians the most. Most world historians were rather inspired by the cultural and anthropological 'turns' in contemporary historiography, focusing on the transnational cultural transfers and processes of hybridity that accompanied modernity. John and William McNeill's influential new interpretation of global history as a 'human web' of interaction in 2003 did not really break out of the modernist paradigm with regard to Japan, however, as it maintained 1854 as some sort of fundamental caesura – William McNeil apparently

10 Jan de Vries, 'Escaping the Great Divergence', *TSEG/the Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History*, 12:2 (2015), pp. 39–49 (p. 39). The importance of the debate is much greater than the number of publications may suggest (although de Vries surely underestimates the quantitative significance as well).

11 Peer Vries, 'The California School and Beyond: How to Study the Great Divergence?', *History Compass*, 8:7 (July 2010), pp. 730-751.

had not really revised his view on Japanese culture since 1963.[12] The emphasis on interactions incidentally may lead to a focus away from Japan, as in Peter Frankopan's recent *The Silk Roads: A New History of the World* (2015), in which – although the book supposedly "firmly puts the attention to the East" (blurb) – Japan almost completely falls out of the picture.[13] Attention often shifted to creole and other hybrid societies such as Brazil, the Caribbean, slave societies as well as diaspora cultures. This was surprising, although Japan re-entered the picture and the prevalent representation of Japan as a homogenous society was contested and considered a modern myth. Strongly influenced by French cultural studies (partly for its own sake), *creolité* became a subject to study languages as well as the ethnicities of Japan. The concept appeared as a way to counter cultural nationalism as well as an overly narrow focus on Western models.[14] Importantly the scope has been enlarged to include more complex and varied interactions instead of just 'Japan and the West' encounters – including those with China and Korea, and the cultural impact of Japan on these and other countries in the region and beyond. The result of this enlargement is of course that the concept, though rooted in postcolonial thought, was stripped from its original context and meaning. This has been interpreted as a loss of clarity, but, as with similar cases (such as appropriation) it also may be interpreted as a form of 'emancipation' of historiography from the postcolonial straitjacket. Japan indeed can hardly be viewed from this perspective anyway.

In this respect Japan always occupied a particular position which challenged established conceptions of modernity. The continuing importance of various cultural traditions and in particular religion has attracted the attention of scholars of secularization and religion – although arguably the most

12 John Robert McNeill and William Hardy McNeill, *The Human Web: A Bird's-eye View of World History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003).

13 Peter Frankopan, *The Silk Roads: A New History of the World* (London: Pimlico, 2015).

14 Michaël F. Ferrier, 'Creole Japan; or, the Vagaries of Creolization', *Small Axe*, 14:3/ 33 (Nov. 2010), pp. 33–44.

significant of these, the late Robert N. Bellah, actually started as a Japan specialist, writing a truly pioneering monograph on *Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan* in 1957, whose findings, I believe, inspired his later studies on civil religion in the US.[15] Historians too focused on Japanese religion and its global impact, in particular on its complex interactions with Western religions and its – particularly Zen Buddhism's - cultural impact on the West since the late nineteenth century. Studying religion in Japan pointed at the issue of definition and commensurability of religion outside a Western context. While until the 1980s Japan was studied as a challenging case for the adepts of modernization/secularization theory, the attention shifted towards the issue of if and to what extent Western concepts of religion can be applied in a non-Western context. Here again, Japan offers a fascinating context to study the ambivalences of East-West interaction.[16]

The focus on religion and the introduction of global perspectives on economic and cultural interactions have contributed a lot in the rethinking of the fundamentals of modernity. In this endeavour Japan holds a prime position, as it shows at once the appealing, synecdochical character of modernity as its complexities.[17] If there is one conclusion to be drawn from contemporary scholarship on world history, it is that the older Eurocentric narratives are less and less relevant and useful to understand modernities as they unfold in different parts of the world.

One author who has effectively taken to heart Dipesh Chakrabarty's claim to move beyond the Western historicist frame is Carol Gluck, who – in a way that in fact continues Robert Bellah's earlier work – tries to incorporate the history

15 Robert N. Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957).

16 The literature on this issue is extensive. A recent synthesis in Jason Ānanda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

17 Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 2005).

of the Meiji into a history of modernity, not as an element of Westernization but as a complex process which has its roots as much in Japanese history as in the West.[18] This radically new approach allows for further reconsideration of 'premodern' pasts in search for 'lost modernities' and, perhaps, for more parallel histories. Recent research indeed emphasizes that modernization had antecedents in the Edo-period, with inter alia among the highest literacy rates. Giving Japan's seclusion, this downplays the impact of Western models. But at the same time, the significance of *sakoku* is put into perspective, certainly in books such as James L. McClain, *Japan: A Modern History* and Andrew Gordon's *A Modern History of Japan*. The latter discusses Japan in a global context of modernization, effectively breaking with the tradition that sets Japan apart as a special case. Gordon's Japan certainly has its peculiarities, but essentially illustrates the vicissitudes of modernity in the Far East.[19]

However, as Gluck warns, there is a danger of introducing a new sort of teleology in the narrative – as if there were some Japanese pre-modernity similar to a European one. Although her definition of modernity differs from Frederick Cooper's, she also points at the rhetoric of the new and the 'modern' that pervaded Meiji's discourse. However, far from an imperative impulse, modernization in Gluck's perspective becomes "improvisational," dependent on the "available modernities," continuously reinterpreted, 'blended' in her apt formulation, resulting in something radically different and new. But also for her, modernization is a global phenomenon, as competing modernities offered themselves in Japan as in Germany and France as well as the US: 'modernities' in the plural were as global as modernity in the singular. However, they were not just 'made in Europe,' but actually recreated and reimagined everywhere, hence also in Japan, synchronic but also diachronic, depending on existing structures (e.g. educational institutions and

18 Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion*.

19 James L. McClain, *Japan: A Modern History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001) and Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

traditions) and narratives, allowing or restraining possibilities.[20] The latter is also exemplified by Sebastian Conrad in his history of the Enlightenment, which is no longer represented as the diffusion of one great Western idea but a history of continuous reinterpretation and dialogue with a concept of multiple origins and ramifications, in which, not surprisingly, Japan figures quite prominently.[21] Conrad shows very clearly how Western Enlightenment ideas were transformed in Japan, receiving a wholly new meaning (a new 'blend') while still referring to the 'original' – itself one formulation of a theme that ran through several histories.

The focus on the significance of the Tokugawa period corrects the inherited preconceptions mainly since the late eighteenth and nineteenth century about Japan's 'feudalism.'[22] Hence it actually reframes the history of continuity and discontinuity and contributes to a further marginalization of the concept of modernization. A nice example of the latter is Sho Konishi's recent reappraisal of the humanitarian tradition in Japanese history, in which he showed how humanitarianism, and the Red Cross in particular, had an origin within Japanese history that traditional 'Western' narratives about the development of humanitarianism (also in Japan) completely overlooked. Sho Konishi's humanitarianism is profoundly Japanese, but refashioned in a Western mould – quite the opposite of that in 'traditional' modernist narratives.[23] The same can be said with regard to the politico-religious system introduced by the Meiji government, which is seen as much more rooted in Japanese tradition than it was recognized until recently. This radically new approach allows for a further reconsideration

20 Carol Gluck, 'The End of Elsewhere: Writing Modernity Now', *The American Historical Review*, 116: 3 (June 2011), pp. 676–687.

21 Sebastian Conrad, 'The Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique,' *The American Historical Review*, 117:4 (Oct., 2012), pp. 999–1027.

22 For an excellent introduction to these debates see Milliam M. Tsutsui (ed. by), *A Companion to Japanese History* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2007).

23 Sho Konishi, 'The Emergence of an International Humanitarian Organization in Japan: The Tokugawa Origins of the Japanese Red Cross', *The American Historical Review*, 119:4 (2014), pp. 1129-1153.

of 'premodern' pasts in search for 'lost modernities' and, perhaps rather, for more parallel histories. There still remains much room for research, though, as these studies tend to de-emphasize the processes of transfer and interaction. Particularly in the realm of the 'harder' sectors of history, such as the economy, technology and political institutions, more attention could go into the ways in which these were developed in complex interactions with different parts of the world, engaging a form of *histoire croisée* which still seems lacking.[24]

Nevertheless, the process of 'provincializing Europe' has affected the history of Japan's place in the world: it indeed leads to questioning Europe's core self-understanding and, more importantly, acknowledges the relevance of developments situated outside the Western historicist time frame. But does it also lead to questioning Japan, as is the second part of the title of my talk? The easy answer is obviously that the new approach highlights Japanese agency and emphasizes the originality of Japanese history and culture. But that is only half the story, and it misses the most important point. A global perspective on Japanese history disentangles the rhizomes of the present and the past which connect time and space. It will then, inevitably, also provincialize Japan and resituate it, as it did with Europe, in a global web of change.

24 Comp. Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond Comparison. Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity', *History and Theory*, 45 (2006) 30-50.

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JAPANESE HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS AS A METHODOLOGY

The fundamental methodology of historical linguistics

Generally speaking, historical linguistics aims to provide answers to the following questions:

1. What did languages look like in the past?
2. How do languages change?
3. Why do languages change?

Historical studies of the Japanese language also share these goals, and the methodologies used to answer questions 1 through 3 are basically founded on the findings and knowledge accumulated in philology and comparative linguistics, developed in Europe. Philology (or *Philologie* in German) is the study of archaic literature or classical texts for the purpose of explicating various linguistic phenomena in previous stages of a language, and this study has greatly contributed to elucidating the features of archaic languages. It is a branch of the classical studies developed in Europe based on the Greek and Roman tradition. Comparative linguistics flourished in 19th century Europe and it is a study of linguistic history to reconstruct archaic features of a language. As such, the methodologies used in historical linguistics, to a large extent, are based on the methodology used to explicate the history of Indo-European languages (this is not surprising considering the fact that modern science is based on Western academic methodologies in general). In other words, we could say that Indo-European historical linguistics exists as a sort of methodology for the historical study of languages at large.

No one will doubt that the methodology of Indo-European

historical linguistics provides a firm foundation for the basics of philology and comparative linguistics; however, we must note that the viewpoint of this methodology, especially that of comparative linguistics, was cultivated within the tradition of Indo-European language studies. Given this, it is reasonable to think that viewpoints from the study of other languages can also make valuable contributions to historical linguistics. Among such other languages is Japanese. Put another way, it is possible that current insights from Japanese historical linguistics could contribute a unique perspective to the methodology of historical linguistics in general.

In this paper we will cover a few recent significant studies and trends in Japanese historical linguistics and discuss the nature of the methodology and viewpoints that the historical study of Japanese can contribute to historical linguistics at large. In other words, we will posit "Japanese historical linguistics as a methodology" as a valid alternative to "Indo-European historical linguistics as a methodology."

New insights for historical linguistics from the study of Chinese characters (1): Semantic borrowing via Chinese characters

One prime example of one of the most noticeable recent achievements in Japanese historical linguistics is the study of Chinese characters. The Japanese language was greatly influenced by Old and Middle Chinese (classical Chinese). Japan introduced Various cultural elements and institutions were introduced into Japan from China, which was the most culturally advanced region in East Asia during the classical period. In this process, the Japanese had to be able to read Chinese literature written in Chinese characters. They devised a unique method for reading Chinese characters, which are in nature logographs, using Japanese, and this, combined with their general attitude towards the Chinese language, enormously influenced the subsequent historical development of the Japanese language. Given this, one can say that one crucial insight from the methodology of Japanese historical linguistics that deserves our attention is the perspective given by the study of Chinese characters.

Classical Chinese text *Wokoto-ten* Transposed text

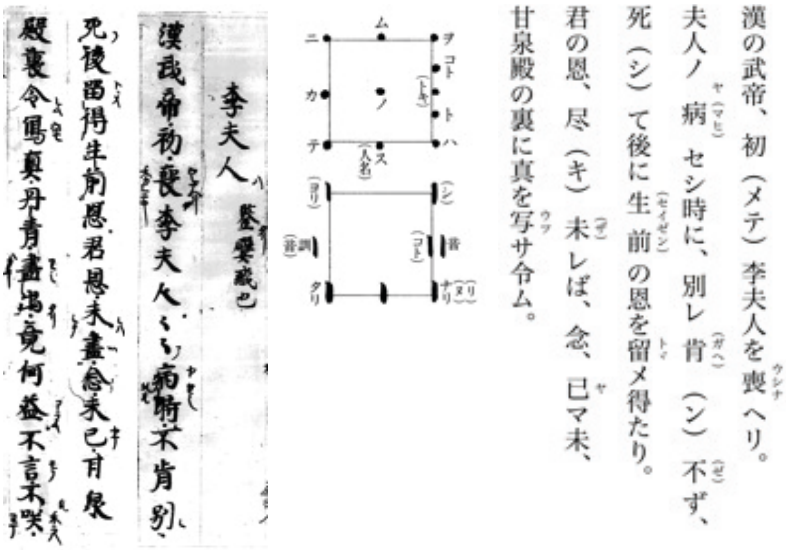


Fig. 1 Example of classical Chinese text, *wokoto-ten*, and transposed text

Left: *Báishì Wénjí* (*The Collected Poems of Bái Jūyì*), Kanda Script, transcribed in 1107 and glossed in 1113 (Ōta and Kobayashi 1982)

Middle: *Wokoto-ten* (Tsukishima 1986). Each square "␣" represents the outline of a Chinese character. For example, if there is a dot "·" in the upper right corner, it reads "wo" (accusative case marker).

Right: Transposed text (Japanese translation)

Now we will begin by discussing semantic borrowing via Chinese characters as an example of one of the contributive viewpoints presented by Japanese historical linguistics. The Japanese introduced Chinese culture by reading classical Chinese literature and to do so, they devised a unique translation method known as *kanbun kundoku* ("text transposition of classical Chinese"). This translation method

enables one to read an original Chinese text as a Japanese text on the spot without the need of rewriting it. Such a method was only achievable because classical Chinese is written in a logographic script. Figure 1 gives an example of this translation system. As can be seen in the figure on the left, the reading of a particular Chinese character is annotated in katakana (Japanese syllabograms) in the margins of the original text. The reading is typically a native Japanese word which corresponds semantically with the Chinese character. The text may also be annotated with *wokoto-ten* (morphosyntactic dot glosses), which represent Japanese particles and verbal suffixes. If the word order of the Chinese text differs from the Japanese counterpart, the reader reads the bottom character(s) first, followed by the character(s) above in a method known as *hendoku* (inverted reading).

There was a general tendency in ascribing native Japanese words to Chinese characters that a specific Japanese word was mapped to each individual character. The product of the process was known as a *teikun* (prescribed reading), and *teikun* played an important role in semantic borrowing via Chinese characters.

The Japanese verb *arawas-* originally meant "to reveal something (that was previously hidden)" as in the example (1a); however, in Modern Japanese the word also has the meaning "to author (a book)" as in (1b).

(1) a. Nanika o site morattara, kanarazu kaŝa no kimochi o arawas-imašoo.

something ACC **do.**CONV **receive.**COND **always gratitude** GEN **feeling** ACC **express-**POL.VOL

"Let's express our feelings of gratitude if someone does us good."

b. Rojaasu wa 1942 nen ni *Kau˽seringu to si˽riryoohoo* toiu hon o arawas-ita.

Rogers TOP 1942 year LOC counseling and psychotherapy named book ACC author-PST

"Rogers authored a book titled *Counseling and Psychotherapy* in 1942."

The meaning "to author (a book)" in (1b) is thought to have been introduced into Japanese through to the influence of classical Chinese (Zisk 2010). In classical Chinese, the character 著*zhù* carries the meaning "to reveal something (that was previously hidden)," similar to *arawas-*, and due to this semantic correspondence, 著 was given the reading *arawas-* in *kanbun kundoku*, eventually achieving *teikun* status. In example (2a), 著 is used in this sense and vernacularly read as *arapas-* (the Old-Middle Japanese form of *arawas-*).

(2) a. 房 (と)イフ ハ 是れ 上 - 古 より 以_来 衆生、 慙愧(する) を以(て) の

pau (to)ipu pa kore zyauko yori irai shuzyau, ginki(suru) womotte no

room called TOP this ancient.times ABL since humankind shame.ADN INST GEN

故に、 襞キ 幔 を して 彰シ著サ令(め)む と 欲(は)不(す)

yuweni, sebaki katabira wo site arapasi+arapas-asime-mu to omop-azu

therefore narrow.ADN curtain ACC do reveal+reveal-CAUS-CONJ.ADN COMP think-NEG.CONCL

"From ancient times humankind were ashamed of their rooms, and for this reason, they

hung curtains to keep them hidden (lit. to not reveal them)".

Daibirushanajōbutu-kyō-so (Commentary to the Mahavairocana Tantra) Vol. 3, Kōzanji M.S., glosses from 1082

b. 上足 (の) 基師, 豈(に) 別 に 西方 (の) 要決 を 著シテ…

zyausoku (no) Kisi, a(ni) betu ni saipau (no) euketu wo arapasite…

high-ranking.disciple GEN Kisi EXCL another LOC pure.land GEN essentials ACC author.CONV

"The high-ranking disciple Kishi authored another book titled *Saihō Yōketsu*, and…"

Ōjōyōshū (Essentials of Rebirth in the Pure Land) Vol. 1, Saimyōji M.S., glosses from early 12C

However, in addition to this meaning, the character 著 also has the meaning "to author (a book)." The native Japanese counterpart *arapas-* did not originally have such a meaning; however, despite this incongruence, 著 is read as *arapas-* ubiquitously in *kanbun kundoku*. The sentence in (2b) is such an example. In the example, 著 is used with the meaning "to author (a book)" in the context of "authoring a book titled *Saihō Yōketsu*," but it is read vernacularly as *arapas-*. In other words, the native Japanese verb *arapas-* did not originally have the meaning portrayed in (2b), but came to be used with this meaning due to the *kanbun kundoku* process. This can be considered an example of semantic expansion or semantic borrowing due to the influence of the Chinese character 著.

Previously, this sort of semantic borrowing was hardly noticed by researchers, if it was noticed at all. It was briefly mentioned by Satō Kiyoji that the word *asob-* took on the meaning "to study in a far off land; to go on a journey" in addition to its original meaning of "to enjoy something; to not be engaged in meaningful activity" (Sato 1987) through contact with the character 遊*yóu*. Recently, however, it has become apparent through a series of studies by Matthew Zisk (Zisk 2010, 2012, 2015, etc.) that the Japanese language was heavily influenced by such semantic borrowing. This type of semantic borrowing occurred due to language contact between Chinese and Japanese, and it is reasonable to think that such a phenomenon was only possible because both languages used the logographic script of Chinese characters. This type of borrowing is different in nature from borrowing between Indo-European languages where contact occurs through spoken languages or phonographic scripts. Such a

phenomenon as linguistic borrowing via logographs can provide a unique viewpoint to our inquiry into the general aspects of linguistic borrowing. One can say that it is a viewpoint deduced from studies on the influence of Chinese characters and classical Chinese on the Japanese language.

New insights for historical linguistics from the study of Chinese characters (2): Studies on glyphic transitions of Chinese characters

In this section we will discuss variant glyphs of Chinese characters. One may think that the study of letters and characters is out of the scope of linguistics, but as pointed out by Kōno (1977), the ultimate function of letters and characters is to represent words. Thus, as long as we are talking about letters and characters under the default definition and not some sort of nonlinguistic symbols, the study of characters can be regarded as a branch of linguistics, and the history of characters falls within the scope of historical linguistics.

1. *History of the glyphic standard in China and Japan*

In this section, we will discuss the glyphs of Chinese characters as an example of the historical study of characters which aims to clarify the transitional change of characters. Chinese characters are made up of three elements: shape, sound, and meaning, and there exist groups of characters which share a common sound and meaning, but have a different shape (or glyph, more precisely). Groups of {学, 學, 斈}, {國, 国, 圀} and {崎, 嵜, 嵼, 埼} are such examples. The members in each group are called variant glyphs. In historical studies of characters, one of the important questions is which variant should be regarded as the standard glyph. Furthermore, it has been revealed that there have been changes in the glyphic standard throughout history. In other words, there exists a history of the glyphic standard of Chinese characters.

One important piece of evidence which confirms that the glyphic standard has changed over time, is the change observed between the glyphs in manuscripts of the early Tang Dynasty (late 7C) and those of the *Kāichéng Stone Classics*, a stone inscription of Confucian texts completed in 837AD (Ishizuka 1999). Figure 2 below shows some examples of changes in glyphs between the two periods (Takada 2012).

Character

Standard glyph in the early Tang Dynasty

Standard glyph in the *Kāichéng Stone Classics*

Fig. 2 Glyphic standards of the early Tang Dynasty and Kāichéng Stone Classics (from Takada 2012)

Since there was a change in the glyphic standard in China, it can be inferred that such a change also influenced the glyphic standard in Japan. The research team headed by Ishizuka Harumichi has been shining more light on this subject by examining glyphic transitions over time in standard Japanese manuscripts (Ishizuka 1999, 2012). According to Ishizuka, Japan accepted the glyphic standard of the early Tang Dynasty in or before the Heian Period, as shown in Figure 3.

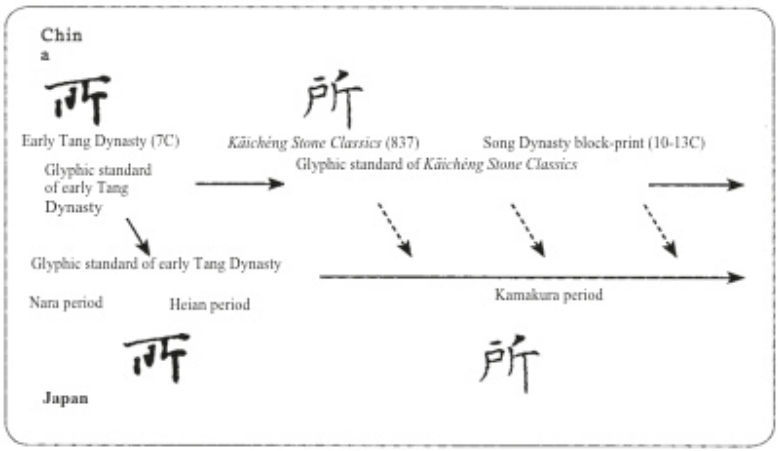


Fig. 3. Transition model of glyphic standards (from Takada 2012)

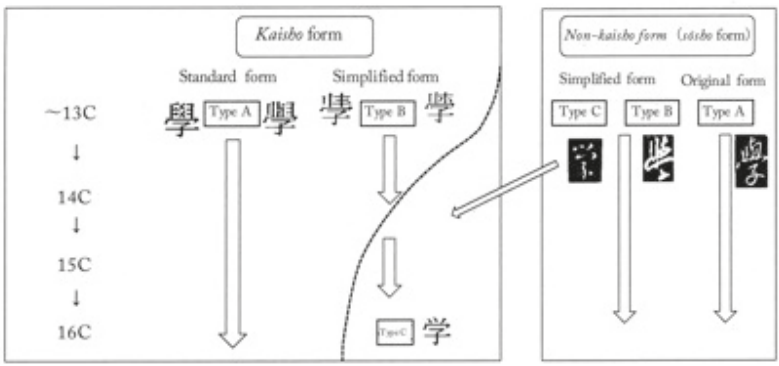
Now there is a question: when was the glyphic standard of *Kāichéng Stone Classics* accepted in Japan? It has been discovered that this standard was not accepted until the Keichō era or later, and that there was a large temporal gap after the glyphic standard changed in China.

The significance of this discussion lies in the fact that it focuses on the history of the glyphic standard in the framework of the historical study of characters. Generally speaking, when we speak a language, we subconsciously pronounce the language in a standard style. The same can be said about grammar and lexicon—we hardly give special thought to the idea of what the grammatical or lexical standard is when we speak. In contrast,

when we use a character, we tend to pay relatively more attention to what type of character we choose. In this sense, we can say that the notion of standard plays more of a role in the history of characters. Or, in other words, in the historical study of characters, the notion of a historical standard assumes more significance than in other domains such as phonology and grammar. The above discussion is important in that it sheds light on the notion of a standard in the historical study of characters, providing the study with a new viewpoint.

2. *Changes in the individual components of glyphs*

Chinese characters have complicated structures and they are usually made up of smaller internal components. These components are traditional referred to as *hen* (left-side component), *tsukuri* (right-side component), *kanmuri* (upper component), and *ashi* (lower component) in Japanese, and they are used in the index systems of Chinese character dictionaries in China and (classical) Chinese-Japanese dictionaries in Japan.



It is occasionally the case that an entire component undergoes a glyphic change. For example, the characters 学 *gaku* (“to study”) and 覚*kaku* (“to perceive”) shown in the Figure 4 share the component 冖, known as the *tsu* radical

in Japan due to its resemblance to the katakana syllogram ツ *tsu*. This radical can also be found in the composition of other characters such as 挙*kyo* ("to raise") and 蛍*kei* ("firefly") as well; however, it should be noted that while the characters 学 and 覚 are derived from 學 and 覺, both of which share the same upper component 肅, 挙 and 蛍 are derived from 擧 and 螢, both of which have unique upper components, and it was only later that that their upper components changed to the shape of 冖.

Recently, the issue of glyphic changes caused by changes in character components has been attracting attention. Kikuchi Keita has discussed this issue in detail (see Kikuchi 2015). According to Kikuchi, the character 学 came into use as a simplified variant of學 relatively earlier than the other characters with the *tsu* radical. The variant 学 first appeared around the transition of the Kamakura period into the Muromachi period (around the 14C), and shortly after, this simplified component began to be gradually applied to other characters. As for the question of why all these different components merged into the *tsu* radical, Kikuchi explains that each of the components were written similarly in their *sōsho* (cursive) form and were then reconfigured back into *kaisho* (square) form, resulting in a merger in the shape of the component. Figure 4 shows the schema of such a glyphic change (type C is the simplified form). The stroke reduction also suggests that there was a prevailing trend to reduce the burden of handwriting by using simplified characters during the late Kamakura-early Muromachi period.

This type of change, simply put, can be explained as an expansion in usage resulting from analogy. This phenomenon is also observed in changes in the spoken language; however, given that a single Chinese character contains a number of internal components, the study of glyphic changes in Chinese characters in particular can provide a viable model for us to capture the motives behind glyphic changes in general.

3. *Glyphic changes triggered by sociolinguistic motives*

As mentioned in section 1, one of the important goals of historical linguistics is to provide an accurate account for the cause of a historical change in a particular language. This also holds true of the historical study of characters because it is, needless to say, an important issue to identify the various factors that can cause a change in the form, shape or structure of a character. As mentioned previously, the most plausible factor that encourages character simplification is the reduction of handwriting burden; however, if this were the sole impetus for change, then we should observe changes much more frequently, while in reality the case is quite different. In many cases, there is a set of necessary conditions to be satisfied for such a change to occur. Attempts to explore such conditions are currently in progress.

One major example is Yamashita Mari's research on the factors that brought about the prevalence and disuse of a variant (simplified form) of the character 銭*sen* ("bronze coin") (Yamashita 2013). There is a variant glyph ⸡ of the character 銭, with its radical 金 (*kin* or "gold" radical) omitted. This variant is no longer in use today, but according to Yamashita, it first came into use around 1872 or 1873 (Meiji 5 or 6), and went out of use during or after the early post-war period (1945-1954).

So why did such a changes occur? It turns out that the character ⸡ was originally used to represent 銭 in the contexts such as "一、金四拾五 ⸡" ("forty-five sen") or "一、金弐拾五 ⸡" ("twenty-five sen"), where ´ is used to represent the unit of currency sen, equal to one one-hundredth of a yen. (see Figure 5). The period when the variant was used coincides with the period when the money unit of sen was used in the Japanese currency system.

Advertising banner of
Kao Corporation

Fig. 5 Examples of ␣ (Yamashita 2013)

In 1872 (Meiji 4), the Japanese currency system introduced the units of yen (円), sen (銭), and rin (厘), but sen and rin were abolished in 1953 (Showa 28). The character ␣ was created and came into wider use to reduce handwriting burden while the unit of currency sen was in use. For this reason, it can be assumed that the variant became obsolete when the sen was abolished.

The important point here is that a change in a social institution was involved in the development of a simplified character (see Yamashita 2012 for details). It is easier to identify the factor(s), which cause changes in the shape of a logograph than it is for those of phonographs since logographs possess their own meaning. In this particular case, the character ␣ possesses the meaning of the unit of currency sen (銭), and its use in this sense was associated with its prevalence and disuse. In other words, by

examining sociolinguistic phenomena distinctive to logographs, we can comprehensively capture factors, which can cause glyphic changes to characters in the framework of the historical study of characters in general.

Indo-European linguistics as a methodology

In the previous sections, we saw that Japanese was greatly influenced by Chinese characters and classical Chinese, and looked at a number of recent notable trends in Japanese historical linguistics based on the viewpoint of the study of Chinese characters and classical Chinese. In this section, I will discuss the traditional methodology and viewpoints of historical linguistics in general.

The traditional methodology of historical linguistics, including Japanese historical linguistics, is founded upon the knowledge introduced from European linguistics. As mentioned previously, among such typical examples are philology and (the comparison methods developed in) comparative linguistics.

In a philological approach to historical linguistics, one uses philological methods to elucidate the history of an archaic language by widely examining lexical evidence in classical literature. Important questions related to this approach include how to handle classical literature and how to identify lexical items used during the relevant period of history. Useful knowledge to solve such questions is based on a foundation in philology, which aims to elucidate various types of phenomena in in previous stages of a language by appropriately handling and interpreting classical literature. Philology originated in Greek and Roman classical studies and developed in Europe. The study of classical Japanese and classical Chinese in Japan play a similar role to that of philology in Europe, and, indeed, achievements in these classical studies have made considerable contributions to the development of Japanese historical linguistics. However, Japanese historical linguistics introduced a major part of its knowledge from European philology as well. Philology is, in its

essence, a branch of academia born and developed in Europe. Today, the study of languages is given the name "linguistics," but the modern field of linguistics was originally a branch of philology when it was founded in the 18th century. In those days, the term "philology" was also used to refer to linguistics or historical linguistics.

Comparative linguistics is a branch of historical linguistics that developed in the 19th century. It aims to explore the general aspects of extinct languages in the prehistoric period and to reconstruct a prototypical language of a particular language family by comparing related languages (of the same language family). Since the 19th century, comparative linguistics has occupied an important position in historical linguistics, and even today it is no exaggeration to say that all introductory linguistics textbooks refer to comparative linguistics when they explain historical linguistics (Lyons 1981 is a good example). This is also the case with technical works on historical linguistics (for an example, see Lass 1997).

Comparative linguistics typically handles languages of the Indo-European language family, and its methodology, in a sense, was established through the experience of examining such languages. It is safe to say that, in its origins, the methodology for comparative linguistics was established through the study of languages with complex inflectional systems and large numbers of sister languages—or, in other words, Indo-European languages.

Japanese historical linguistics also founds itself on the methodologies of philology and comparative linguistics, and philology is especially important as, in Japan, the philological approach is the main method used for historical studies of Japanese. Since Japanese has no known sister languages outside of Japan, the applicability of the comparative method is relatively limited, and typically it is only applied in historical studies of dialects and accent. Overall, though, it can be said that the methodology of Indo-European historical linguistics is firmly established in Japan (see Ōki 2013 for a general overview of Japanese historical linguistics).

Considering the above background, one can say that the

traditional methodology of historical linguistics has been more or less founded upon the basis provided by Indo-European historical linguistics.

Japanese historical linguistics as a methodology

As outlined above, the methodology of Indo-European historical linguistics is fundamental and indispensable when studying the history of languages in general, and naturally, this methodology will also continue to form a foundation for studies in this field in the future. In addition to such a view, however, I believe that there are domains in which the viewpoints and methods of Japanese historical linguistics can make valuable contributions.

As we saw in the examples in this paper, linguistic phenomena related to logographs such as Chinese characters are more complicated in nature than those related to phonographs. Therefore, when we handle phenomena such as those exemplified in sections 2 and 3, viewpoints or methods distinctive to the study of logographs can be more advantageous in comprehensively capturing the nature of the linguistic phenomena at hand than those used for analyzing phonographs. In other words, since Chinese characters are complex characters – each possessing distinct meanings and being made up of numerous internal components – the methodology and viewpoints outlined in this paper that focus on Chinese characters could make valuable contributions to historical linguistics and help to comprehensively account for motives behind (1) linguistic borrowing and language contact and (2) glyphic transitions in languages. In such studies, it is safe to say that the methodology or viewpoints of Japanese historical linguistics can serve as an integral part of the methodology for studying the history of a language. Put another way, "Japanese historical linguistics as a methodology" is qualified to make contributions to historical linguistics in general.

Of course, there are more insights that can be provided by

Japanese historical linguistics than just those listed in this paper, but on the whole, "Japanese historical linguistic as a methodology" could be helpful in analyzing the history of other languages and perhaps could even be incorporated into the methodology of historical linguistics in general.

In this paper, the issues that we discussed were all related to the history of the Japanese language, so it is only natural that we arrived at the conclusion that "Japanese historical linguistics as a methodology" can make useful contributions to historical linguistics in general. Needless to say, however, we can expect to find other unique viewpoints from methodologies used in the historical study of Chinese and other languages of the Sinosphere. In other words, "Chinese historical linguistics as a methodology," "Korean historical linguistics as a methodology," or, for that matter, the historical study of any language as a methodology could provide valuable insights for historical linguistics. Finally, I would like to emphasize the necessity of incorporating new dimensions into the current methodology of the historical linguistics in future studies.

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Abbreviations

ABL:	ablative
ACC:	accusative
ADN:	adnominal
CAUS:	causative
COMP:	complementizer
CONCL:	conclusive
CONV:	converbial
COND:	conditional
CONJ:	conjectural
EXCL:	exclamative
GEN:	genitive
INST:	instrumental
LOC:	locative
POL:	polite form
PST:	past
TOP:	topic
VOL:	volitional

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CONSTRUCTIONAL REDUPLICATION IN JAPANESE

Introduction

Language constantly creates new words adapting to changes in the times. Newly coined words, though they may be based on existing words, bear the role of conveying innovative ideas that are not expressed in conventionalized existing words. In this sense, new words are a mirror of ongoing changes in ideas and concepts in our society.

In this paper, I will discuss an example of coinage in modern Japanese, which I will call "constructional reduplication." Constructional reduplication is a word formation process, which is based on conventional reduplication, but its form is more rigid and its semantic function is somewhat different from conventional reduplication. I will show how such words are created and how they obtain expressive power, that make them unique in the Japanese lexicon.

Conventional Reduplication and Constructional Reduplication

Reduplication is a process of producing words by doubling an independently existing word or a part of word. Japanese has many reduplicated words, which are mostly classified into the following three categories: noun base reduplication, adjective-stem base reduplication, and mimetic base reduplication. The following words are some examples in each category.

(1)a.	Noun base reduplication		
	yama-yama	*hito-bito*	*hi-bi*
	mountain-mountain	person-person	day-day
	'mountains'	'people'	'day after day'
b.	Adjective-stem base reduplication		
	hirobiro	*fuka-buka*	*aka-aka*
	wide-wide	deep-deep	red-red
	'very wide'	'very deep'	'bright shade of red'
c.	Mimetic base reduplication		
	sube-sube	*gara-gara*	*doki-doki*
	M-M	M-M	M - M
M=mimetic			
	'smooth'	'clatter'	'pit-a-pat'

Except for mimetic-base reduplication, reduplications in Japanese are severely restricted in productivity. Namely, reduplicated nouns and adjectives are registered in the lexicon as lexemes of the language and a certain limited set of nouns and adjectives are subject to reduplication. Thus, the reduplicated words in the categories of (1a) and (1b) are some of the existing lexemes in Japanese. But this is not the case in mimetics in (1c). The inventory of mimetic reduplications is not as fixed as those of noun or adjective reduplications. Moreover, it is often the case that reduplication is an obligatory process in producing mimetic words. Thus, *sube-sube* "smooth" in (1c), for example, is always used in a reduplicated form. Note also that, as shown by *hito-bito* and *hi-bi* in (1a), and *hiro-biro* and *huka-buka* in (1b), the initial consonant of the second element of a reduplicated word is subject to the "sequential voicing (*rendaku*)," which converts voiceless obstruents into voiced (i.e. [h]→[b]). This shows that the derivation of reduplication is a morphological process as is the case with compounding in this language.

In contrast with the reduplications described above, the reduplications to be discussed in the following discussion are

fully productive. This type of reduplication – constructional reduplication, as we call it herein – is a completely different type of word formation process in that it is highly productive and its linguistic form is rigidly fixed. Thus, the language user can even create a new form for a single occasion as a one-off word. Moreover, the two types of reduplication differ in meaning: conventional reduplications normally denote the plurality of things, the repetition of events, or the intensification of property (in the case of adjective reduplication), but constructional reduplications express either the typicality of properties related with the base, or an ample amount of (or sometimes excessive amount of) the entity expressed by the noun. The following are some examples of constructional reduplication.

(2) a. [*onnanoko-onnanoko shita*] *onna*
girl-girl LV woman LV= light verb
'a woman who behaves like a girl'

b. [*kodomo-kodomo shita*] *onna*
child-child LV woman
'a woman who behaves like a child'

c. [*yasai-yasai shiteiru*] *suupu*
vegetable-vegetable LV soup
'soup that contains a lot of vegetables'

A constructional reduplication consists of two parts: one is a reduplication where a noun is doubled and the other is a light verb *suru* which is combined with the reduplication in the form of *shita* or *shiteiru*. The verb forms are used adnominally or predicatively. What is most interesting about this type of reduplication is that the reduplication part must be combined with the light verb in either form. Thus, *onnanoko-onnanoko* "girl-girl" does not stand alone in an actual context.

Conventional reduplications express plurality of individual entities or repetition of events, which is a commonly observed property of reduplication across the world constructional reduplications (see Hurch, 2011 for properties and functions of reduplication across the world). In contrast, constructional

reduplication is fully productive (i.e. not lexicalized). Actually, there seems to be no constraint on the selection of the noun base. Semantically, reduplicated words express either typical properties of an entity denoted by the base noun (as in (2a) and (2b)), or an ample amount of (or sometimes excessive amount of) the entity expressed by the noun (as in (2c)).

Let us start with a discussion on the productivity of reduplication. As mentioned above, the Japanese lexicon contains only a limited set of reduplications. This is the case in the examples in (1a). We find reduplicated forms of *yama* "mountain" and *hito* "person." But reduplicated forms of nouns such as *inu* "dog" or *neko* "cat" do not exist in the lexicon. Thus, the following forms are not used in Japanese (hereafter, non-existing words are marked with *).

(3)	**inu-inu*	**neko-neko*
	dog-dog	cat-cat
	'dogs'	'cats'

Unlike English and other European languages, Japanese does not make morphological distinction on the plurality of nouns. Thus, the reduplicated forms in (1a) do not simply denote plurality of the entities. *Yama-yama* represents a particular shape of mountains (a series of mountains) and *hito-bito* means a gathering of people (not a simple plural of *person*). In this sense, they are conventionally stored in the lexicon. But this is not the case with *inu* and *neko*.

Interestingly, in constructional reduplication any noun can be used as its base. Thus, we can even find the nouns in (3) are reduplicated in this form. See the examples below.

(4) a. *inu-inu shita inu*
dog-dog LV dog
'a typical dog'
b. *neko-neko shita ugoki*
cat-cat LV motion
'a typical motion of cat'

As it turns out, the constructional reduplications in (4) are not based on conventional reduplications since the reduplicated forms in (3) do not exist in the Japanese lexicon. This means that the process of producing reduplications in (4) is an independent morphological process in Japanese.

Semantics of Constructional Reduplication

As pointed out above, constructional reduplication differs from conventional reduplication in the meaning denoted by reduplication. Constructional reduplications do not represent the plurality of entities, but refer to the typicality of an entity denoted by the base noun. The question to be addressed then is why constructional reduplications can represent the typicality of denoted entities. To answer this question, let me briefly point out a semantic factor that would provide a clue to the question. As mentioned in the previous section, constructional reduplications are used as modifiers. It is interesting to note that they are gradable modifiers. Because of this semantic property, they are modified by degree adverbs such as *totemo*, *sugoku* "very". See the examples below.

(5) a. *totemo onnanoko-onnanoko shita onna*
very girl-girl LV woman
b. *sugoku Oosaka-Oosaka shita machi*
very Osaka-Osaka LV city

This point is suggestive when we consider the semantic function of constructional reduplication. Notice that the base nouns in (5) do not exhibit gradability. Thus, the base nouns themselves are not compatible with degree modifiers.

(6) a. **totemo onnanoko*
very girl
b. **sugoku Oosaka*
very Osaka

Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the construal of gradability follows from the reduplication process: they are gradable because they are reduplicated. Why, then, do constructional reduplications have a gradable property?

At this point, let us now turn to discussion on a similar phenomenon in English. As pointed out by some researchers (Gomeshi et al. 2004, Horn 2006, and Huang 2009), English has similar reduplications, as shown below (Gomeshi et al. 2004):[1]

(7) a. I'll make the tuna salad and you make the salad-salad.

b. She wasn't a fancy cow, a Hereford or Black Angus or something, just a cow-cow.

c. Should I wear a hat-hat? [as opposed to a yarmulke]

d. And Charley is no more like a dog-dog than he is like a cat.

This type of reduplication is called "Contrastive Focus Reduplication" (Gomeshi et al. 2004) or "Lexical Cloning" (Horn 2006). According to Horn's analysis, the reduplicated modifier "narrows down the meaning of a noun corresponding to a true, real, default, or prototype category member" (Horn 2006: 15). Thus a "salad-salad" is a typical green salad, which the word "salad" may denote as its typical, default interpretation. This "typicality" interpretation is, according to Hurch 2011, one of most characteristic semantic factors observed in various types of reduplication across the world. If this is the case, then it would be reasonable to assume that constructional reduplication in Japanese takes part in the lexicon for this very reason that it functions to represent the typicality of denoted entities.

Given that the semantics of constructional reduplication is in parallel with the semantics of reduplication in other

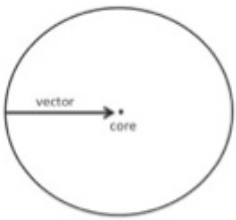
1 English does not have a productive reduplication formation. It only has the limited number of reduplications, such as *goody-goody*, *nitwit*, *humpty-dumpty*, etc. Thus, the reduplication in (7) is an unusual way of producing reduplications in English.

languages, that is, it follows from some universal characteristics of reduplication, we can answer the question raised above. Constructional reduplication has a gradable property because it serves to narrow down the sense of the base word to a prototypical category membership.[2] Thus, *onnanoko-onnanoko* "girl-girl" and *kodomo-kodomo* "child-child" in the following examples denote a prototypical membership of "girl" or "child".

(8) a. *onnanoko-onnanoko shita onna*
girl-girl LV woman
'a woman who behaves like a girl'
b. *kodomo-kodomo shita onna*
child-child LV woman
'a woman who behaves like a child'

The process of narrowing the lexical meaning of a word can be construed as a process of moving towards the core meaning of the word. Given this, it would be appropriate to say that the semantic function of constructional reduplication comprises a vector that is directed from a set of the non-core properties to a set of core properties (i.e. prototypical properties). This is roughly illustrated as a circle (a set of properties) and an arrow (a vector) as illustrated below.

(9)



Suppose that the vector is construed as a scale from less typical properties to more typical properties, then the meaning of constructional reduplication would have a gradable property.

2 Lexical pragmatics claims that actual construal of denoted lexical senses involves either narrowing or broadening senses (i.e. ad hoc concept construction) (see Wilson and Carston 2007 among others).

In this regard, it is important to note that mimetic reduplications, which we saw in the beginning, exhibit the same property, i.e., they represent the gradability, which is compatible with degree adverbs as shown below:

(10) a. *totemo sube-sube shiteiru*
very M-M LV
'very smooth'
b. *totemo gotsu-gotsu shiteiru*
very M-M LV
'very rugged'

Note that they are the only productive process in the three categories of reduplication in Japanese (see (1)). Thus, the typicality interpretation and a constraint on the form (the reduplication has to be combined with the light verb) follows from the semantic and formal properties of mimetic reduplication. And the semantic function of constructional reduplication – i.e., it represents a typical property of a denoted entity – follows from universal properties of reduplication.

The parallelism with the mimetic reduplication suggests that formation of constructional reduplications is based on a template that is derived from existing reduplications. This is illustrated below:

(11) Mimetic reduplication
sube-sube shita hada → template: [ ] [ ] *shita/shiteiru*
M-M LV skin
"very smooth skin"

Constructional reduplications are produced by inserting a base noun into the slot of the template. This template comprises a "construction" in the sense of the term used in Constructional Morphology (Booij 2010), in that it is a combination of a

particular form and meaning. The productivity of constructional reduplication is, therefore, supported by morphological properties of an individual language and universals of reduplication.

Conclusion

I have discussed so far the fact that Japanese has a very powerful process of producing reduplications, which is completely different from a process of producing existing reduplications. The process of constructional reduplication is an instance of coinage in modern Japanese. The linguistic community has adopted a new way of producing linguistic expressions because there is a need in society to do so. We have seen how reduplications are produced. Their formal properties are based on an existing expression, but the semantic property is crucially dependent on universal characteristics of reduplication. I hope to have shown how novel linguistic forms are created and how they obtain their unique expressive power in language.

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COLORS IN CULTURE INTERCHANGES FROM HEIANKYŌ TO THE CITY OF EDO AND LONDON

The use of colors in an artistic output is a peculiar aspect of each author, but also of the culture to which the author belongs. The language related to colors, as well as the choice of colors in itself, reveals many interesting elements about a culture. Since the famous study on colors by J.W. Goethe, at the beginning of XIX century, a sort of link between literature and science that has brought forth many theoretical reflections has been created. In Japanese literary criticism, the study of the theory colors has started with M. T. Orsi's research on Tanizaki's and Soseki's use of shadow in Italy. In our contributions we intend to analyze the use of colors in works ranging from literary pieces from the Heian Court, to fantasy-like modern stories, through ghost stories of the Edo period, in particular texts that belong to different genres: narrative, diaries and storytelling. The common point of our three research lines is the use of color in narratives of inner spaces compared to the use of color in narratives of official spaces in the cities of Kyoto, Edo, and London that became the setting of the stories.

Sagiyama focuses on color expressions in Heian literature. Mastrangelo focuses on ghost stories created by Sanyūtei Enchō, trying to observe the differences between Enchō and the previous ghost repertory. Milasi focuses on the role that the fictionalization of his experience in London as a student played on Natsume Sōseki's overall allegoric view of the supernatural in his London diary and the many fictions based on his experiences abroad. Our approach is essentially philological, analyzing words, verbs, adverbs used in the description of scenes where the confusion

between reality and the imaginary is a narrative device. We think that this kind of research could prove rich of ideas to be further developed studying many other authors, linking also the writers and artists of different cultures.

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THE SYMBOLIC VALUE OF THE COLORS IN HEIAN LITERATURE

The extent of the nomenclature of the colors in classical Japanese literature is well known. In that lexicon, however, only the four basic terms denote the colors in an abstract conception, *aka* (red), *ao* (blue, green), *shiro* (white), and *kuro* (black). These four terms, however, in the archaic language, referred rather to the degrees of brightness (*aka* / bright - *kuro* / dark) and clearness (*shiro* / clear - *ao* / dim).[1]

Most of the ancient color terminology, instead, consists of terms derived from objects of nature, first of all those from which coloring pigments are extracted and, to a lesser extent, those which share the same color tonality. With reference to the examples of color terms already present in the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (*Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*), the color *akane* (madder pink) was denoted in this way as it was obtained from the roots of the plant by the same name (madder, *Rubia tinctorum),* while *midori* (green) originally designated sprouts and then came to indicate their color.

On entering the Heian Period (794-1185), the number of colors registered a sudden increase due to the development in the

1 For the color terminology in ancient Japanese refer to: Akihiro Satake 佐竹昭弘, *Man'yōshū nukigaki* [Excerpts from the *Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*] 『萬葉集抜書』 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 岩波書店, 2000). In particular 'Kodai no gengo ni okeru naibu gengo keishiki no mondai' [Internal Language Form in Ancient Japanese] 古代の言語における内部言語形式の問題, originally published in *Kojiki Taisei* vol.3. *Gengo moji hen* (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1957); 'Kodai nihongo ni okeru shikimei no seikaku' [Characteristic of Color Terms in Ancient Japanese] 古代日本語における色名の性格, originally published in *Kokugo Kokubun*, 24-6, (1955); 'Goi no kōzō to shikō no keitai' [Vocabulary Structure and Patterns of Thought] 語彙の構造と思考の形態, originally published in *Kokugogaku*, 27 (1956).

techniques of dyeing and weaving, and to the prosperity of the aristocratic class. According to Ihara Aki, about a hundred new terms for colors can be found in the literary works of the Heian Period.[2] Most of these, moreover, no longer take their origins from coloring dyes and substances, but rather from chromatic analogies with objects of nature.[3] For example, the color *sakura* (cherry) was not derived from that plant, but rather reproduced the shades of the colors of its flowers. In this way the terms for colors also constituted the means by which to bring the elements of nature into the daily lives of the aristocrats.

In addition to the increase in chromatic varieties, the sensitivity for color tonality was also refined, with the abundant use of adjectives such as intense (*koki*) and pale (*awaki*). Even more noteworthy is the attention to combinations of colors. In particular, the custom of wearing several layers of clothing brought about the development of a complex canon for the standards of color coordination, called *kasane no irome* 襲の色目.

In literary works, colors can assume the functions not only of chromatic effect, but also of elements which reveal particular cultural connotations. In the *Man'yōshū*, for example, the expression *akarahiku* (bright red) refers to the ideal beauty of a girl with a rosy complexion, but it is assumed that underlying this eulogistic expression is the archaic conception of "red" as the manifestation of divine or supernatural power.

As in this example, the symbolic value of the colors in the ancient period often has its roots in the archaic mentality. In the Heian Period, reflections of this can also be found, as in *Tosa Nikki* 土佐日記 (*Tosa Diary*): "on the ship the women do not wear their fine garments of bright crimson, out of fear of

2 Aki Ihara 伊原昭, *Genji Monogatari no iro. Iro naki mono no sekai e* [Colors in the *Tale of Genji*. Toward the Colorless World] 『源氏物語の色　いろなきものの世界へ』 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin笠間書院, 2014), p. 9.

3 Aki Ihara 伊原昭, *Heianchō bungaku no shikisō* [Color Phases in the Heian Literature] 『平安朝文学の色相』 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin笠間書院, 1967), p. 10.

the divinity of the sea".[4] However the magical conceptions of colors were used ever less frequently, replaced by those closely connected to aesthetic and social values.

In the literary works of the Heian Period, the terms for colors are used primarily to refer to objects or phenomena of nature (e.g. green willows, white clouds) and to the objects of daily life, such as furniture, interior décor, and clothing. The attention to clothing is notably refined, as can be seen in the prose works in which there are abundant references to the colors of clothes. The shades of the color of the clothes, moreover, had to be in harmony with the season, the occasion, the social status, and the personality. And it is well known that the colors of the official garments of the nobles were strictly regulated by law according to the degree of nobility, but also in everyday life the choice of colors and their combinations in clothing served as an indication of the personality of the person wearing them, as well as their social and economic position, refinement, sensitivity, good judgment, and so on. That was also true for everyday objects, such as writing paper for letters.

In *Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語 (*The Tale of Genji*), in the scene in which the protagonist Genji selects the fabrics to give as gifts to his various court ladies for their New Year's garments, Lady Murasaki 紫上 says: "You should choose the fabric taking into account the appearance of those who will wear it. A garment that does not suit the one who wears it is not pleasant to look at." To which Genji replies smiling: "I would say that you are trying to guess the appearance of the other ladies."[5] Indeed, Lady Murasaki is trying to imagine the personalities of her husband's other companions from the color coordinates he selects. At the basis of this attitude is the assumption that the colors of clothes

4 Yasuhiko Kikuchi 菊地靖彦 (ed. by), *Tosa Nikki* [The Tosa Diary] 『土佐日記』, in *Tosa Nikki, Kagerō Nikki* 『土佐日記　蜻蛉日記』, *Shinhen Nihon kotenbungaku zenshū* vol.13 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan小学館, 1995), p. 29.

5 Akio Abe 安部秋生 et al. (ed. by), *Genji Monogatari* [The Tale of Genji] 『源氏物語』vol.3, *Shinhen Nihon kotenbungaku zenshū* vol. 22 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan小学館, 1996), p. 135.

should be appropriate to the people wearing them. And, vice versa, the colors serve as indications of their personalities.

The terms for colors, therefore, could also denote the characterization of the people in the narrative and/or the contexts in which they are placed. This usage of color terminology for the purposes of literary effect becomes intentional in the Heian narrative and in particular in *The Tale of Genji*.

In this masterpiece of classical Japanese literature, the incidence of colors is preceded by an astute strategy on the part of the author. For example, Lady Yūgao 夕顔 is one of the characters to whose characterization a specific color contributes. At the beginning of the chapter by the same name, the Lady's home is distinguished by its "white curtains," and a white *yūgao* flower (*Lagenaria siceraria var. hispida*) blossoming on the fence attracts the attention of Genji, the protagonist. He wants a flowering branch, and the mistress of the house, that is to say Lady Yūgao, offers him a white fan and the poem written on it speaks of "the *yūgao* flower enveloped in the white dew."[6] Later, in the Lady's home, where the sound of mallets beating "the white canvases" to soften the fiber can be heard, the Lady wears "over her white garment a soft robe of a pale violet color," producing with her frail, delicate beauty a profound sense of tenderness in the man's heart.[7]

The color white symbolizes the discreet but pure charm of this heroine with her mild, compliant character, but at the same time it foreshadows the fragility of her destiny, which will lead her to a sudden and premature death. It should also be taken into consideration that white was the color of the purifying power and as such it was used for mourning, at childbirth, during illness, etc. The attribution of this color to Lady Yūgao also contributes, therefore, to creating an aura of mystery that surrounds the story of this female character.

It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that the terms

6 Akio Abe et al. (ed. by), *Genji Monogatari* [The Tale of Genji] 『源氏物語』vol.1, *Shinhen Nihon kotenbungaku zenshū* vol. 20 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan 小学館, 1994), pp. 135-137, p. 140.

7 Ibid., pp. 156-157.

for colors become symbolic devices not only for the actual chromatic manifestation in itself, but also for the conceptual connotations of the terms themselves, established through the literary conventions. It is well known that the three heroines who are essential in the life of the protagonist Genji, that is to say Kiritsubo 桐壺 (Lady of the Paulownia Pavilion), Fujitsubo藤壺 (Lady of the Wisteria Pavilion) and Murasaki (Lady Purple Gromwell), are linked by the color purple and that connection is called, in fact, "purple bond" (*murasaki no yukari*) 紫のゆかり. This correlation is realized on the one hand by the colors of the paulownia (*kiri*) and wisteria (*fuji*) flowers, which converge in *murasaki* (purple), a color term deriving from the plant of the same name (gromwell) from whose roots is extracted a purple pigment. On the other hand, the term *murasaki* recalls an anonymous poem of the *Kokinshū* 古今集 (*A Collection of Ancient and Modern Japanese Poetry*):

A single stalk of
royal purple upon the
Moor of Musashi
makes me love all the other
wild grasses all the more
(Author unknown. Book XVII, n. 867)[8]

As has already been mentioned, numerous terms for colors were derived from the objects of nature and many of these were also part of the poetic *koinè:* such terms, indicating the objects of nature, evoked particular emotional states of mind or human factors through conventional connections, like the above-cited *murasaki* which evokes the network of emotional bonds. The meanings of the terms for colors, therefore, have an intertextual extension to be held in consideration. And in *The Tale of Genji* the complex color connections work in such a

8 紫のひともとゆゑに武蔵野の草はみながらあはれとぞ見るTrad. by Rodd, Laurel Rasplica, in *Kokinshu: A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984).

way as to realize also the interconnections of correspondences and diversifications.

I will limit myself to citing only one example. The term *sakura* (cherry flower) as a chromatic term could indicate both the color pale pink and the combination of two colors, in which the front or top is white, while in the back or below there are different hypotheses: red, dark violet, reddish indigo, etc. In *The Tale of Genji* the characters who wear garments of this color are mainly the young women, but there are also examples of male characters. Among these is the protagonist Genji when he dresses attentively, but in an informal style, at times with an ostentatious nonchalance amidst the other nobles wearing their ceremonial garments.[9]

Here, however, I wish to draw attention to the case of the so-called Third Princess女三宮, who became the official wife of Genji when he was by then middle-aged. When a young nobleman named Kashiwagi柏木, who is in love with her, manages for the first time to catch a glimpse of her, she is wearing a robe of "cherry flower". The scene takes place under the cherry trees in full bloom, whose petals flutter down in magnificent swirling spirals. The choice of that article of clothing is in line with the setting's backdrop, and the figure of the woman is accurately set in the narration. Here, in fact, a concatenation of the image of the cherry flower which "falls precipitously" prepares for the appearance of this female character, who indeed will "fall" easily into the error of an illicit relationship with Kashiwagi.[10] The garment of "cherry flower" color, moreover, creates the association between this Third Princess and another of Genji's consorts, Lady Murasaki. The latter had also been introduced earlier in a setting adorned by cherry trees in full bloom, had worn the robe of "cherry flower," and her ideal beauty is compared to this flower. The association between the two ladies, however, acts to highlight the diversity between the two women: it turns

9 In Chap. VIII *Hana no en* 花宴and Chap. XXIX *Miyuki*行幸.

10 Akio Abe et al. (ed. by), *Genji Monogatari* [The Tale of Genji]『源氏物語』vol.4, *Shinhen Nihon kotenbungaku zenshū* vol. 23 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan小学館, 1996), pp. 138-141.

out in effect that the Third Princess is only a disappointing copy of Lady Murasaki, or rather another "cherry flower" conceived as such only by an invasive eye of Kashiwagi, and represents a destabilizing factor for the order presided over by the protagonist Genji.

The terms for colors may prove to be the keys for solving the intricate narrative structure of *The Tale of Genji*.

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ENCHŌ'S COLORS IN GHOST STORY DESCRIPTIONS

I would like to continue on the theme of our panel with an analysis of chromatic symbolism in literature, moving across the centuries in order to analyse the use - or lack of use - of colors in Japanese ghost stories. In particular, I would like to consider the *kaidanbanashi* 怪談話 (ghost stories) of the storyteller Sanyūtei Enchō 三遊亭円朝 produced towards the end of the Edo period, while attempting to investigate the linguistic expression of colors through the particular characteristics of the verbal arts, of which literary genre Enchō was in many regards a unique artist, and also through the characteristics marking Enchō himself.

In Enchō's ghost stories we can perceive the strong presence of two basic colors: white and red. We can observe that white is used much more in sentences that describe living people, but it is a color whose simplicity conceals many ambiguities. Red, on the other hand, is more often used to depict ghosts and the trail of death they leave behind them and that sometimes they have faced as victims before becoming ghosts.

Taking some examples from Sanyūtei Enchō's *The Peony Lantern, a Ghost Story* (怪談牡丹燈籠*Kaidan Botandōrō*), we can observe that white is used, as also Professor Sagiyama remarks, in classical literature, as a synonym of beauty to describe a face. Therefore to describe a handsome man, the storyteller Enchō talks of an "extremely white" face (*iro akumademo shiroku*),[1] or "a handsome man with white skin" (*iro shiro no*

1 Yoshihiro Kurata 倉田喜弘 et. al. (ed. by), Sanyūtei Enchō 三遊亭円朝, *Kaidan Botandōrō* [The Ghostly Tale of the Peony Lantern] 『怪談牡丹燈籠』, *Enchō zenshū* 『円朝全集』, I (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten岩波書店, 2012), p. 5.

kireina otoko).[2] The color *masao* (pale white) of the face indicates astonishment or fear, when for example one meets a ghost, like the servant Tomozō: " 'I am curious about this woman, she has a very polished language. I want to see what kind of woman she is' he thought, but when he looked better, he jumped with fright, 'It's a ghost! It's a ghost,' and his face pale white, terrified, he ran away."[3] A white face can also symbolise the lack of blood, or, in other words, the lack of red, and consequently, the lack of life and belonging, or proximity, to *yūrei* 幽霊, ghosts. White is in fact also the color of a liminal moment when one can hover between life and death. Shinzaburō, the protagonist of *Botandōrō*, wears a white robe when he prepares the Buddhist altar to commemorate Otsuyu's death. It means that although he mourns and prays for his beloved Otsuyu, he is not aware that very soon the next meeting with the two ghost women, Otsuyu and Oyone, will cause his own death. Clothes, reminiscent of the white robes of the dead, can also be imagined in the night when Shinzaburō locks himself up at home and starts to recite the sutra, hoping to keep out the ghosts. Actually he was deceived by his servant Tomozō, who had helped him to wash and to wear a clean white *yukata*, but, as the narrator relates: "what he wore was the last robe in which he dressed," his shroud, the white robes used for the dead.[4]

Red, on the other hand, is used to describe the skin tone of a face reacting to emotions. For example, during a fight, a man's "whole face becomes as though bathed in vermilion" because of anger (*manmen shu o sosoidaru gotoku ni nari*),[5] or the emotion of Otsuyu makes her ears deep red (*makka*),[6] or her face red for shame (*makka*),[7] using in these cases the Japanese words *shu*, *kurenai*, *and tan* respectively. In particular, red is used to

2 Ibid, p. 16.
3 Ibid, p. 36.
4 Ibid, p. 79.
5 Ibid, p. 8.
6 Ibid, p. 13.
7 Ibid, p. 16.

depict Otsuyu's clothing consisting of a kimono and a long, summer under-*kimono* of "scarlet crepe" (*hi chirimen*)[8] that Shinzaburō notices the night when he meets the two women in the moonlight, a particular detail of which I shall talk later. This is not actually the first time they have seen each other, but it is the first meeting after the women have become ghosts. In the scene where Shinzaburō realizes the danger to which he is exposed by frequently meeting Otsuyu and Oyone, the red of the silk under-kimono is transformed so as to "burn like red" (*moeru yōna hi chirimen*).[9] The contrast that the narrator wants to make between the white of Shinzaburō's robe and the red of Otsuyu's *kimono* becomes evident. In fact, Otsuyu, who is depicted as a terrifying beauty, is associated with the color of the *botan*, the peony flower, which plays a key role in the novel, as is evidenced by the title of the story. As I have written in previous research notes about the use of colors in *Botandōrō*,[10] Enchō never specifies the color of the peony flower, which can be of many shades, but for Japanese readers the word *botan'iro* already contains the necessary color information, varying between shades of red and crimson; that is to say, it is associated with the scarlet or lively red of Otsuyu's *kimono*. The difficulties for non-Japanese readers in comprehending the color 'peony' is somewhat similar to difficulties encountered with the Italian term 'rosa', usually translated as pink, but which can denote as many different shades as there are in the rose flower.

Within the intercultural context of this symposium, it is worth remembering that color symbolism is closely linked to individual cultures, which we must reflect upon when trying to comprehend a text of a culture that is not ours, and when we try to read some semantic significance through colors.

As Professor Sagiyama has underlined, the expressions of color

8 Ibid, p. 33.

9 Ibid, p. 49.

10 Matilde Mastrangelo, 'Botan no iro wa dōshite katararenai no ka' [Why has the color of that peony not been mentioned?] 牡丹の色はどうして語られないのか, in Kurata Yoshihiro 倉田喜弘et. al. (ed. by), 『*Enchō zenshū*』円朝全集, 5 *Geppō*月報 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten岩波書店, 2013), pp. 4-5.

in Japanese literature can also be realized through references to the seasons. Indeed, with regard to Otsuyu's *kimono*, color is not the only element that is highlighted. Also specified is *akigusa irosome* (autumn as a decorative pattern), the same decorative pattern of the lacquer box that Shinzaburō receives from Otsuyu in a dream. In Japan, ghosts are very often linked to summer, but we must remember that although nowadays the Obon Festival (the commemoration of the souls of the dead) is held in the middle of August, in the old calendar it took place in autumn, a period of the year when there are red maples (*momiji*) and also dark and gloomy colors. This reference to autumn is also interesting on account of the fact that ghost stories are usually set against a backdrop of summer vegetation, where trees and plants have specific colors. I will elaborate on this point at a later stage of the research in connection with the plants used for colors during the classical period. On this occasion, I will only mention as an example that the willow trees, under which ghosts appear in many ghost stories, are contrasted with the deep pallor of ghosts.

Much has been written about the symbolic use of colors to express emotions in written literature. In ghost stories too, colors are used to supplement expressions of emotions through chromatic symbolism and help to describe the ghost, as well as the reaction to a ghost. However, Enchō's narratives were not originally considered to be a written text. It is widely known that *Botandōrō* was the first oral narrative story transcribed in short-hand and was published in a newspaper and then as a book, after some rewriting. Also today it is used as a reference text for oral performances, but of course every artist can change part of the story as he or she prefers. For example, in Enchō's narrative it is possible, in the descriptions of ghosts, to perceive a clear difference in the use of colors depending on the point of view, or rather, depending on the direction of the gaze, whether from inside or from outside. We can identify at least four kinds of gaze: that of the main character when outdoors, for example when Shinzaburō meets the female ghosts; his gaze from inside

towards the outside, when Shinzaburō is frightened by the ghosts; Tomozō's gaze peeping inside from outside his master's house; Tomozō's gaze from inside at the ghosts waiting for him. In Enchō's narrative, we see that Shinzaburō's view of Otsuyu has much more detail regarding colors and patterns; on the other hand, when Tomozō peeps inside his master's house, he notices the non-human thinness and the evanescence of the bodies of the ghost women, not the colors of their dresses. Even when he comes into direct contact with the ghost women, he emphasizes the beauty, but not the colors that distinguish them.

However, in some contemporary oral performances, as in that of the female *kōdan* performer Kanda Yōko, Shinzaburō's and Tomozō's gazes produce the same descriptions rich in details, perhaps because, in oral performance, descriptions such as that of Otsuyu's kimono need to be repeated twice to be fully appreciated. On the other hand, in the performance of artist Katsura Utamaru, the use of color is the same as Enchō's.

All the scenes that we have analysed so far take place in the moonlight, in the darkness, as is very often the case in ghost stories. This also means that we have to imagine colors in the cold, white light of the moon. In his famous work on colors, *The Theory of Colors*, Goethe wrote about the importance of the difference between light and darkness for the human eye and about the effect of these two situations on the eyes. Importantly, for the analyses of ghost stories, he asserted that color does not originate just from light but also from darkness.[11] In this sense, Enchō's use of white and red can also be justified by taking into consideration the dark atmosphere in which a ghost story takes place. We can also compare Asai Ryoi's 浅井了意text of *Botan tōki* 牡丹燈記, the story from which *Botandōrō* developed, where we encounter the same dark atmosphere, but a completely different structure to the story.

In conclusion I would like to stress that my contribution, like that of our panel, is based on philological analyses of the

11 Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *La teoria dei colori* (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 2014), in particular p. 22, p. 189, p. 214.

text and on rhetorical analyses of literary works where colors have an important function. In this sense, it is not my aim to include analyses of ghost scrolls and paintings. But it is also true that in Enchō's case it is essential to consider his interest in ghost iconography. His collection of *yurei*,[12] though failing to satisfy his ambition to collect one hundred works, is a very good collection of ghost scrolls and paintings that suggest a future research path aiming to study how, and whether, ghost paintings influenced Enchō, or if, rather, it was he himself who inspired the artists around him.

12 Nobuo Tsuji 辻惟雄 (ed. by), *Zenshōanzō. San'yūtei Enchō korekushon. Yūreimeigashū* [Japanese Ghosts Paintings: the *San'yūtei Enchō Collection at Zenshō-an*] 『全生庵蔵。三遊亭円朝コレクション。幽霊名画集』 (Tokyo: Perikansha ぺりかん社, 1995).

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A SUN SOAKED IN BLOOD: THE SYMBOLIC VALUE OF COLORS IN NATSUME SŌSEKI'S LONDON DIARIES

A reading of the poetics of Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867-1916) by means of the symbolism of colors yields new interpretations, which further clarify the meaning of the hidden subtexts of his work. One cannot deny that, on the one hand, the choice of colors, especially in descriptive passages, occasionally has an intent which is simply descriptive. On the other hand, there are cases in which, as far as Sōseki's literature is concerned, the allegories that these chromatic choices often underline are as fundamental as they are elusive in interpretation. I will present some concrete examples to back up this view.

The most important feature of Sōseki's chromatic symbolism that I want to emphasise today is the consistency with which Sōseki applies the symbolism of colors throughout his entire literary output, regardless of the genre: poetic or narrative, or a novel, short story, or autobiographical memoir. Critics have already pointed out on several occasions that Sōseki was probably, among Meiji writers, the one most interested in the relationship between literature and painting. His keen passion for romantic authors like William Blake and Goethe, both interested in finding points of contact between poetry and painting, as well as for the Pre-Raphaelite painters testify to that, and reflects a key theme in his novel *Kusamakura* 草枕 (*The Three Cornered World*, 1906).[1]

1 The influence of English literature, particularly poetry, on Natsume Sōseki's poetics is discussed by, among others, Abe: 'An Aspect of the Influence of English Literature on Natsume Soseki', *NOAG*, 106 (1969), 5-25. On Sōseki

The use of color in Sōseki's literature, particularly in the aforementioned novel, clearly has a symbolic value: in spite of the direct inspiration from the natural world that Sōseki himself professed, for example in the essay *Shizen wo utsusu bunshō* 自然を寫す文章 (*On the prose that mimics the natural world*, November 1906), the descriptive passages of his works are not often mere reproductions of real life, but they operate a hidden transfiguration in order to convey the core of his poetry. Therefore, a criticism of the overall significance of Sōseki's endeavors, if based on a closer look of the chromatic data, should make use of an interpretative grid broad enough to include all the meanings arising from such a wide perspective, semantically and culturally, that the usage of colors represents.

Let us take, as one of the most striking examples of this necessity, a closer look at the symbology of colors featured in the diary that Sōseki kept from 8th September 1900 to 13th November of the following year during his stay in London. We shall compare the contents of the diary with both his stories set in London and his writings in Chinese. A careful examination shows that the complex symbolic framework that will later inform the symbolism of color in Sōseki's major works, including *Sanshirō* 三四郎 (1908), それから *Sorekara* (1909) and *Mon* 門 (1910), is already present in a developed stage in his early writings, be those in Japanese or in Chinese.

The diary recounts, with a narrative quality that goes beyond the documentary intent, the long sea trip from Yokohama through China, with stops in Wusun, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, India, Aden, the Red Sea, and finally Europe. Sōseki describes his first impressions of Naples, Genoa and Turin,[2]

and the Pre-Raphaelites see Tōru Haga 芳賀徹, *Kaiga no ryōbun: kindai Nihon hikaku bunkashi kenkyū* ['The Domain of Paintings: a comparative cultural history of modern Japan'] 『絵画の領分 — 近代日本比較文化史研究』 (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha朝日新聞社, 1984), pp. 374-380.

2 It's worth mentioning that on eventually disembarking in Naples, the first port in Europe he had reached, Sōseki recorded his vivid impressions of the magnificence of the city, with its cathedrals, the museum displaying archeological findings of Pompeii, and the streets entirely paved with cobblestones. To a man accustomed to the Japanese traditional architecture

then Paris, and finally, London.[3] The diary is organized in daily entries and covers, with only a few gaps, much of the time that Sōseki spent in London, as well as offering a detailed description of his journey towards England. The first few days in London correspond to the more fragmented portions of the text, consisting of extremely short annotations, which creates a contrast with the descriptions of the glories of Italy and Paris that are actually the first impressions of Europe recorded by Sōseki. One can of course imagine that in the days shortly after his arrival in London Sōseki would have been distracted and preoccupied by more concrete and impelling issues, and this would justify the lack of extensive descriptions, if compared to the journey to his final destination. It is significant, however, that within the first days of the new year 1901 the diary offers his first portrait of London in the following words:

> January 3rd, 1901
>
> When in the city of London the day is foggy, take a look at the sun: it is dark-red, very much like blood. This sun, of a color that looks like a blood stain spattered on a somewhat bright brown, is something that you shall not see elsewhere except in this place.[4]

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that was still, at the turn of the century, the most widely diffused manner of constructing buildings in Tokyo, the view must have been truly enthralling. See the remarks about Sōseki's impressions of Italy in Masahiro Shindō真銅正宏's volume *Kindai ryokōki no naka no Itaria: seiyō bunka inyū no mō hitotsu no katachi* ['The Image of Italy in Modern Travel Journals: one more embodiment of the adoption of Western culture']『近代旅行記の中のイタリア—西洋文化移入のもう一つのかたち』(Tokyo: Gakujutsu shuppan kai学術出版会, Gakujutsu sōsho, 2011), pp. 12-16.

3 For a general presentation of the diaries Sōseki wrote at this time (*nikki danpen* 日記断片) and the significance of his London experience see Takemori Ten'yū, 'The Emergence of Natsume *Sōseki* as a Novelist: His Position and Significance in Modern Japanese Literature', *Acta Asiatica*, 40 (1981), 22-36 (pp. 23-25).

4 倫敦の町にて霧ある日、太陽を見よ。黒赤くして血の如し。鳶色の地に血を以て染め抜きたる太陽はこの地にあらずば見る能わざらん（略）。For this and all other quotations of his London diaries, see the collected diaries of Sōseki edited by Toshio Hiraoka 平岡敏夫, *Sōseki nikki* ['The Diaries of Sōseki']『漱石日記』(Tokyo: Iwanami bunko岩波文庫, 1990), p. 25. The diaries are also included in *volume XIII* of the author's *zenshū* (*Collected Works*): Natsume Sōseki, *Sōseki zenshū, dai 13 kan*『漱石全集第13巻』(Tokyo: Iwanami shoten岩波書店, 1966).

In a few sentences (or brushstrokes, we might say, given the kind of description), the author delivers what he believes to be the key feature that makes London a unique city. Naturally, the English climate is renowned to all, and in the period during which Sōseki lived there, London may actually have been, indeed, very polluted. Given this reality, it is therefore all the more surprising that a strikingly similar description marks the first passage from the dimension of actual experience – set in the present – to the unreal dimension of memory – or remembrance – in the short story *Rondon tō* 倫敦塔 (*The Tower of London*, 1904), where a blood-red sun appears again as a prelude to the murder of two young princes, Edward V and his brother, the Duke of York:

> The younger brother says 'Amen' again. His voice is shaking. The elder brother quietly puts the book down, walks towards the small window, and attempts to look outside. The window is high, and he is not tall enough. He brings over a stool and lifts himself on tiptoe. In the midst of black clouds enveloping the landscape for a hundred miles around, the winter sun dimly shines. It seems to be soaked through with the blood of slaughtered dogs.[5]

In another of Sōseki's novels, *Sanshiro* (1908), the protagonist, a young man, witnesses a fire at night which appears to portend his disillusionment with his unconfessed love. The narrative ends dramatically on this note, and we read that the mixing colors of the red flames and the black of night amidst the turmoil reminds him of the "color of destiny." Broadly speaking, in Sōseki's fiction the color red almost always carries negative connotations. An additional point, which makes evident the link to the classical conception of colors already investigated in the other two contributions, is the quality or the gradation of light taken by the color red as it darkens more and more towards black. As we have seen, the color of the sun in London is described as partaking of the chromatic feature of the blood, which becomes dark red when exposed to air, because of the oxidization of the iron in the haemoglobin. This clearly signifies the word "murder." Red and

5 Natsume Sōseki, *Rondon tō* 『倫敦塔』, in Flanagan Damian (trans. and ed. by), *The Tower of London, tales of Victorian London* (London and Chester Springs: Peter Owen Publishers, 2005), p. 98.

black also mark the passages in the texts where the protagonist detaches from the present, and, in a trancelike state, experiences a vision of past events and people, but if we summarize the kind of vision he experiences, we should note that these pertain solely to the barbaric assassination of innocents (whose purity is perhaps highlighted by the white of their complexion or, in some cases, dresses), a common theme in the history of the English people.

Regarding the "apparitions" of the Tower of London, it is moreover worth reflecting on the fact that Sōseki himself, in an essay on the ghosts of Macbeth published in the magazine *Teikoku Bungaku* 帝國文学 on 10th January 1904, reaffirms the need to establish whether the apparitions witnessed by Macbeth were the product of his deluded mind or a real ghost (*yōkai* 妖怪in the text). Even in the interpretation of the poetry in Shakespeare's historical drama, which Sōseki himself mentions as a primary source of inspiration for The *Tower of London*, there emerges the author's full awareness of his trying to carve an allegory out of history. The symbolism of colors supports and emphasizes this allegorical interpretation. The vision of the tower, forming a bridge between past and present, is the means through which the author signifies the pending oblivion of memory; and this obliviousness is, in turn, a harbinger of the evils of what the author perceives to be a disruptive industrialization. This interpretation is confirmed in the closing scene of *The Tower of London,* where we are faced with the sharply opposite sensibilities between the narrator, a Japanese, and his English landlord, who readily dismisses with rational explanations the visions recounted by the narrator after a visit to the tower.[6] The final comment of Sōseki's narrator, which closes the story, is that his landlord is a modern man, who lives in London in the present. Reading additional passages from Sōseki's diary regarding the first days of the new year – the time when Sōseki witnessed the death of Queen Victoria and the mourning for her passing – we should be able to understand better what constitutes a common thread:

6 Remarks on the relationship between reality and the visionary in Sōseki's short stories in Abe: 'An Aspect of the Influence of English Literature on Natsume Soseki', *NOAG*, 106 (1969), 5-25 (pp. 11-12).

> January 4, 1901
> Try to expectorate after a walk around the city of London, and you will be amazed at how a very black agglomerate will come out. Local people - hundreds of thousands of people – are polluting their lungs in this way day after day, living among these vapours, dust, and turmoil. Even I, when I blow my nose to draw out some mucus, end up feeling so bad that I think I am about to faint.[7]

In this passage, the dust (*chiri* 塵), smoke (*kemuri* 煙) and the black mucus are the concrete manifestations of the pollution in the air resulting from a rapid and reckless industrialization. In the entry for the next day Sōseki writes:

> January 5, 1901
> I think I shall never fully understand how people living in the midst of these fumes can look beautiful. Perhaps it is all in the nature of this climate, or because the sunlight is weak. In the crowd's endless back and forth, finally, I think I see someone bizarre and dirty-looking, short in stature, coming towards me, only to discover that this is my own person reflected. And I must say that, only after arriving in this place, I have fully realized for the very first time how yellow is the color of the skin of us Japanese.[8]

The last few sentences of the entries quoted above also contains a sad reflection on the color of the skin of the Japanese, which we find repeated almost verbatim in *Rondon shōsoku* 倫敦消息 (*Letter from London*, 1901), a long account that Sōseki addressed to his friend Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規, who was to die of consumption shortly before Sōseki's return to Japan. The scene where the author spots a short, shabby-looking man in the crowd only to discover that he had been seeing his own reflection is related again in his letter to Shiki. Acknowledging that the Japanese look yellow is a kind of metaphor for the

7 倫敦の町を散歩して試みに痰を吐きて見よ。真黒なる塊りの出るに驚くべし。何百万の市民はこの煤烟とこの塵埃を吸収して毎日彼らの肺臓を染めつつあるなり。我ながら鼻をかみ痰をするときは気のひけるほど気味悪きなり。Hiraoka, *Sōseki nikki*, p. 26.

8 この煤烟中に住む人間が何故美くしきや解し難し。思うに全く気候のためならん。太陽の光薄きためならん。往来にて向うから背の低き妙なきたなき奴が来たと思えば我姿の鏡にうつりしなり。我々の黄なるは当地に来て始めてなるほどと合点するなり（略）。Hiraoka, *Sōseki nikki*, p. 26.

sharp self-perception of otherness that Sōseki experiences once living in a foreign land. As for the theme of pollution, the rapid industrialization and the specific characteristics of a particular place, these may in fact reflect a unique conception of the relationship between men and places which Sōseki seems to have already developed and expressed in a Chinese essay in 1889, *Kyo'i kisetsu* 居 移 気 説 (*How the place where one lives influences one's vitality*):

> Heaven and earth cannot escape the movement and the change (...) this is the nature of everything, and this principle applies to men as well: the five colors guide their eyes, the eight sounds their ears. Splendour or squalor, gaining and failing influences his mind. Human behaviour, attitudes and feelings depend, perhaps, on subjective circumstances; and if it is so, it means that the former are therefore akin to change upon the changing of these latter circumstances. This is what we may call the true meaning of the motto 'the place where one abides influences his vitality.'
>
> When I was a kid, I moved to Asakusa together with my parents. The Asakusa area was brimming with shops lined up, side by side, so close to one another as are the teeth of a comb; down there, the red dust of the city's bustle danced everywhere in the air, wrapping up everything.[9]

This composition, delivered at private Chinese lessons that Sōseki took in his youth, is apparently an exercise in style. Yet, the tone of certain passages, which reads as lively despite the expressive medium being classical Chinese, is clearly ironic and accounts for one of the best short humorous pieces in Sōseki's literature. In explaining the relationship between the place where one lives and the psyche, the author uses terms, which evidently refer to different lights, colors, and their properties - opaque, brilliant. The concept of mutual influence of the places and the people who live there will constantly resurface in Sōseki's mature writings. We could quote as examples *Shumi no iden* 趣

9 天地 不能 無 変 変 必 動 于 焉 (略) 人為甚五彩動其目八音動其耳栄枯得喪動其心蓋人之性情従境遇而変故境遇一転而性情亦自変是所以居移気也 余 幼時 従 親 移居 于 浅 草 浅 草 之 地 肆 廛 櫛 比 紅塵 塕 勃 see Natsume Sōseki (aut.) and Ikkai Tomoyoshi (ed.), *Sōseki zenshū (New Edition), vol. 18 - kanshibun* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten岩波書店, 1995), p. 499.

味の遺伝 (*What's left to say about my interests*, 1906), where the author writes: "I heard at a young age the sentence of Mengzi 'the place where you live will influence your state of mind'." Also, in the sixth chapter of the novel *Gubijinsō* 虞美人草 (*The poppy*, 1907), he writes: "the place where one dwells influences their mood; and so the imagination of Fujio became as fervent as intense was the color of the sky." The "red dust" (*kōjin* 紅塵) markedly appearing in Sōseki's last Chinese poetic composition is the all-powerful metaphor signifying the detachment of the modern man from nature, and his consequently progressive corruption, all the more evident in the society's increasing moral and physical decay.[10]

In sum, critical studies of Sōseki's literature have already debated on the pivotal symbolic value of colors in his works. What seems to be a feature still neglected is the reflection that this expressive use of colors in the fiction of Sōseki has much deeper roots than the knowledge of the European theories he gained as a mature man. Some metaphors, especially those related to the preponderance of associated red and white, were present from Sōseki's very first attempts at writing. Some of these are penned in a foreign language, Chinese. Writing in a language other than one's mother tongue could give the impression of impairing the author's freedom of expression; and yet, when it comes to defining the quality of colors, Sōseki offers a precise vocabulary and a diverse range of graphic variations to define not only the kind of color (white, red, blue, black), but also, for example, the degree of brightness. In Sōseki's Chinese poetry, which totals hundreds of compositions of which the latter half the author chose to leave mostly unpublished, red is associated with dust (*chiri* 塵, *kōjin* 紅塵), a metaphor for the world of human

10 In general terms, the value of colors, particularly white and red, in Sōseki's original fiction is discussed by Toshio Okuma 大熊利夫, *Shikisai bungaku ron: shikisai hyōgen kara minaosu Kindai bungaku* ['A Theory of Colors in Literature: new approaches to Modern Japanese literature by means of the expression of colors']『色彩文学論 — 色彩表現から見直す近代文学』(Tokyo: Satsuki shobō五月書房, 1995), pp. 185-186 and 192-193 respectively.

passions.[11] Another recurring word is the compound "the dust of passions", *jinkai* 塵懐, apparently a reference to the holistic view of human nature illustrated in Taoist and Buddhist philosophical treatises, of which we know that Sōseki had been a passionate connoisseur in his youth. This term is often contrasted with the appearance of white clouds in the distance, surmounting natural landscapes.[12] However, we must also consider that Sōseki used a strikingly similar language to describe the city he considered to be the symbol of modern industrialization, London: noting its bustle of smoke, *bai'en* 煤烟, and dust, *jin'ai* 塵埃, the latter term conveying also the sense of a "corrupt society" (俗世間 *zokuseken*) of the urban sprawl. Behind the surface of the Chinese script, we find in Sōseki's early work the same key theme of the rejection of the least appalling features of modernization. The allegory of the loss of historical memory by contemporary Londoners that informs Sōseki's English fiction is, perhaps, the most concrete embodiment of his worries about modernization.

11 Red is, according to a widely accepted theory, the most abstract of all colors, and therefore is easily charged with heavily symbolic overtunes, see Brent Berlin and Paul Kay, *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), p. 2.

12 On the value of the white cloud, apparently a Buddhist or Daoist symbol, but also inspired by Sōseki's study of Ruskin, see Atsuko Kumasaka 熊坂 敦子, 'Sanshirō to Eikoku kaiga' ['The novel *Sanshirō* and English Paintings']「三四郎」と英国絵画, *Nihon joshi daigaku kiyō – bungaku bu*, 34 (1984), 11-23.

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CLOSING REMARKS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM IN FLORENCE

I will now offer my closing remarks of the symposium as a representative of the Graduate School of International Cultural Studies, Tohoku University, co-host of this symposium.

First of all, I would like to express my deepest gratitude for the staff of the University of Florence who prepared this symposium with such care and arranged for the event to proceed smoothly in the true spirit of *omotenashi*. Also many thanks to the people involved from Tohoku University, particularly Professor Akihiro Ozaki of the Graduate School of Arts and Letters who put so much effort into planning and coordinating the program and schedule.

This international symposium, 'How to Learn, Nippon/Japan as Object, Nippon/Japan as Method', running from morning to evening over two days, has featured more than thirty presentations on themes including politics, history, thought and religion, culture, and language and has produced vigorous discussions of important issues. As my academic work is chiefly concerned with the modern history of Iran, I am something of an outsider to Japanology and Japanese Studies and am not in a position to summarize or evaluate accurately the academic achievements of the symposium. However, as a researcher working in the area of foreign studies, I have learned much from the European Japanologists studying multi-faceted aspects of Japan as a research object and their methodological debates.

In my recent work, I have begun to focus on the subject of Iran's encounter with the modernity at the outset of the modern era and its absorption of important elements of modernity

by adjusting them to fit with native development. From this perspective, I concentrate on the roles played by the Muslim scholar-officials from Iranian family backgrounds resident in India, where British influence and superiority was dominant. One of these figures was an intellectual named Abū Tāleb Khān who stayed in London for two and a half years at the end of the 18th century, where, masquerading as a Persian prince, he socialized with notables and ladies and was granted an audience with the King and Queen of England. I am currently engaged in analyzing his detailed 3-volume travelogue. On the way back from England, he travelled southwards on a route like a Grand Tour and arrived at Marseille. From there he sailed across the Mediterranean Sea, landed in Italy, and visited cities like Genova and Livorno. During his stay in Italy, he was surprised to find that one upper-class lady had two husbands, probably an example of a custom called *cicisbei*.

What has interested me most is the sense of objectivity he conveys in his observations, which locates his own Indo-Iranian Islamic culture within the context of other cultures. Khān's story is only a single example, but it was due to the fact that I approach modern Iran as a research object and study related materials in accordance with a particular methodology – a perspective different from that of native researchers of Iran – that I was able to discover its significance.

It so happens that I was born in Kyoto, known as the flower of Japanese culture, and lived there during my youth. Therefore, although more than twenty years have passed since I left the old city, elements suggestive of Kyoto remain at the base of my identity. Examples of this include the transition of four seasons as experienced in Kyoto, festivals and customs of each season, the color and taste of *obanzai* as everyday foods of Kyoto, and the city's special landscape with *machi-ya* housing. These are my highly subjective memories, but for me they are not research objects to be analyzed and examined from a scientific viewpoint. Thus I have much less information and knowledge than specialists in Japanese studies. Like ordinary Iranians knowing little about Abū Tāleb Khān and not imagining his worldview as

a precursor of Iranian modernity, surely I have personal identities as Japanese and *kyoto-jin* but cannot consider these objectively or adopt an approach and a methodology that takes Japan as an object. In this sense, Japanese identity and Japan as object are incompatible. This is a simple fact, but one that this symposium has impressed upon me.

As a final point, I would like to publicize our Graduate School a little and to express my hope for the future progress of Japanese Studies. In 2015, the Graduate School of International Cultural Studies at Tohoku University established a Department of Comparative Cultures and Japanese Studies which is taught from two perspectives, namely 'the world within Japan' and 'Japan in the world'. In other words, it aims to offer comprehensive Japanese Studies from two viewpoints: the reception and influence of foreign cultures in Japan and the reception of Japanese culture overseas. We wish to promote research and education on Japanology and Japanese Studies by making this department a base for development. Furthermore, we have great hopes that Tohoku University will, by hosting these kind of international symposia aimed at expanding the horizons of Japanese Studies in collaboration with European, Asian, and American universities and research institutes, become one of the frontier centers for Japanese Studies.